THE 1984 PRIMARY: AN ANALYSIS

California Journal

y Analysis of State Government and Politics

JULY 1984/$2.50

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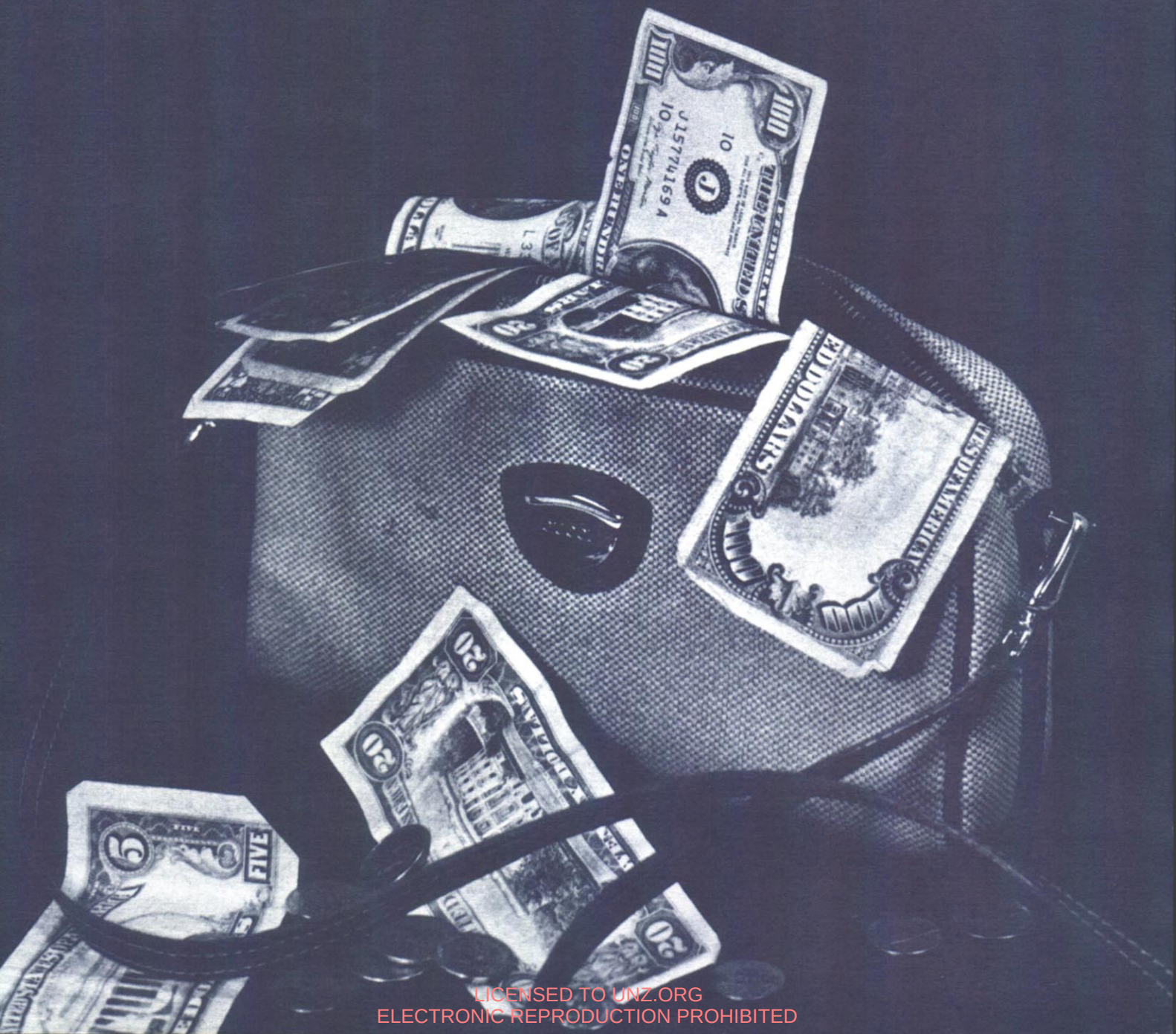

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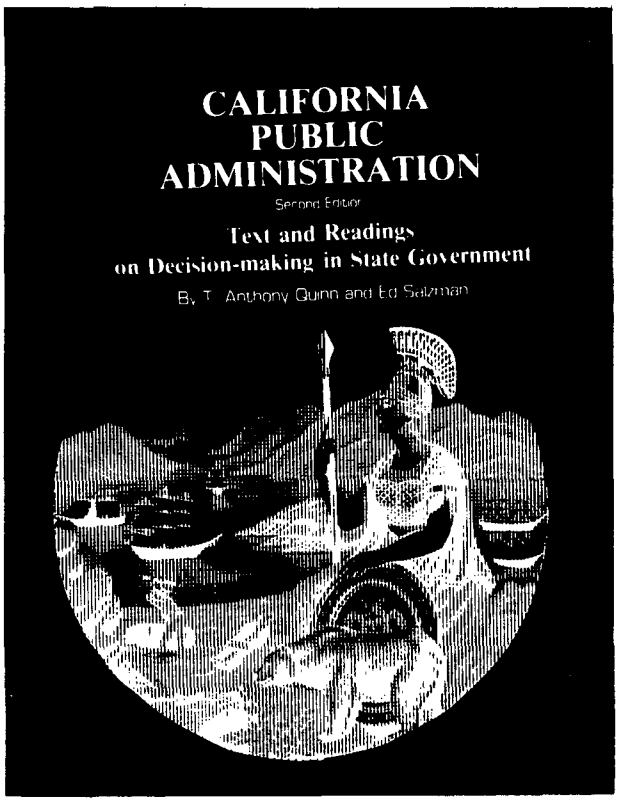

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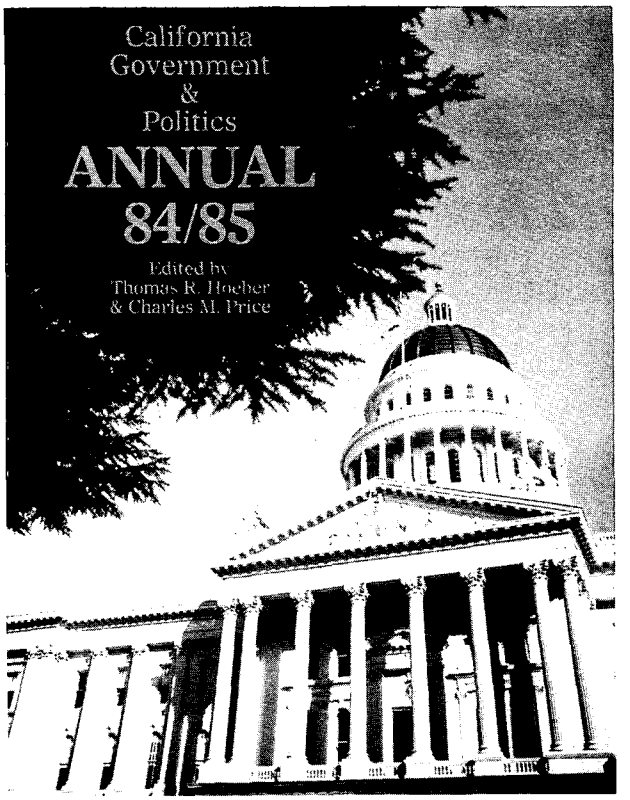

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California Journal

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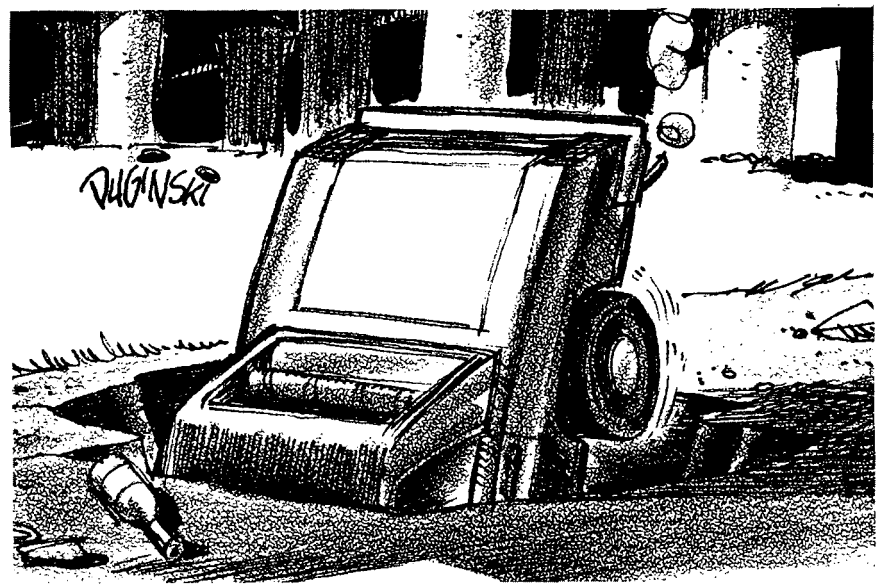

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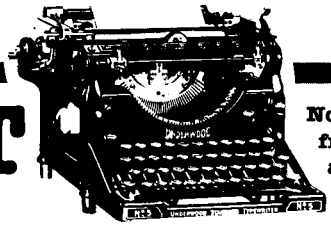
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Assemblyman Gray Davis hosted a barbecue one evening recently for his freshman Democratic colleagues and managed to get Governor Deukmejian as a guest. The governor was most kind to the Demo freshmen, calling them "outstanding," and saying that their presence had elevated the Legislature. "I hope this isn't being taped," he also said. The party was held at the Sacramento home of Gordon Schaber, dean of the McGeorge Law School, and included a long session before Schaber's TV, watching the Los Angeles Lakers lose the NBA championship game to the Celtics. Since most of the freshmen have been playing basketball at the CHP academy, they were quick to criticize Laker miscues. When Magic Johnson lost the ball twice during the closing minute, Chuck "Magic" Calderon of Montebello cried "fix." The governor, a surprisingly avid hoop fan, swore it wasn't so.

When the Fair Political Practices Commission went after Conway Collis, a member of the State Board of Equalization, for intentionally misreporting campaign contributions, it was like calling a meeting of its own alumni association. First came Collis' press aide, John Meade, former information officer for the FPPC itself. Then came the attorneys that Collis hired to fight for him, Daniel Lowenstein and Thomas Houston, the two former chairmen of the FPPC. The fight ended June 5th, with the FPPC announcing that Collis was guilty of a variety of reporting violations and had been fined $12,000. In a statement later, Collis said he had little quarrel with the FPPC action. "I was fined because I deserved to be," he said.

Leo McElroy, top press aide to Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, is considering a departure to reopen the media consulting business he operated before joining McCarthy's staff last year. His leaving would mark an uncommon amount of turnover on the lieutenant governor's staff, coming on the heels of two resignations from McCarthy's Los Angeles office — those of Lou Morton and Lupe DeLaCruz. Lips are sealed, but there are emanations of conflict between Jules Radcliff, McCarthy's chief of staff, and some of those below. Oh yes, also departing is Mike Gage, former assemblyman and a McCarthy appointee as executive director of the Economic Development Commission. Gage, who quit the Assembly to go river-rafting in the Himalayas, says he doesn't know what's next for him.

Bob Naylor, the Assembly GOP leader, got short changed in last month's legislative ratings ("The Rating Game," *CJ*, June 1984). We inadvertently counted four of Naylor's abstentions as opposing the Chamber's position when they actually supported it. Thus, he racked up a miserable, lowly, failing grade of 33. Actually, the Menlo Park Republican should have received an 83.

Eli Segal, U. S. Senator Gary Hart's chief of staff, was telling reporters that Hart's fight for the Democratic nomination will be waged after the primaries by teams of head-hunters scouring the nation to raid the delegate camps of rivals Walter Mondale and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. The goal, Segal said, would be to prevent a first-ballot Mondale victory at the San Francisco convention next month. Valiantly suppressed was the question: Would they be known as Raiders of the Lost Hart?

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Phil Guthrie, genial flack for the State Department of Corrections, is headed for Texas to become chief aide to the new prison director there, Ray Procunier. Procunier was California's prison director under former Governor Reagan and headed the parole board for a year under former Governor Jerry Brown. We reported in April that Guthrie, 55, planned to retire from his California job, which he will do. However, Procunier, who is one of Guthrie's closest friends, convinced Guthrie that it is better to be watching inmates at a Texas prison than to be watching Pacific Ocean sunsets from a retirement bungalow on the North Coast.

Jim Dutra promises that "Viewpoint," his Republican-oriented monthly, shall return. In newsprint format, "Viewpoint" covered comings and goings within the GOP, interviewed Republican leaders and generally endorsed conservative points of view. But after seven-plus years of hard labor (evenings and with volunteers), Dutra ended the enterprise with last October's edition. However, he wants to try again and is looking for financial support. This time, he says, he'll try to interest a more general readership. Anyone with a few hundred thousand dollars to spare?

Why did Assembly Speaker Willie Brown meet Governor Deukmejian and others to discuss the state budget with the word "Gann" written on the sole of one shoe? "Papan did it," he explained when a conferee noticed and asked. Lou Papan, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, says he went to Brown's office a few days before and found the speaker on the phone with his feet on his desk. Wanting to talk about the Gann initiative, Papan — always direct and blunt — grabbed the handiest surface and inked on his message. "Just an impulse," he says.

It's probably a typo, but we like the words in a report from Assemblyman John Vasconcellos concerning an addition made by his Ways and Means Committee to the governor's budget: "This billion dollar increase is offset by increased revenue projections of at least $200 . . ." It's the sort of sentence that helps you understand how things get done around here.

The Capitol consensus is that Willie Brown and Dick Robinson aren't play acting their feud. Some thought that Robinson's ouster as Democratic caucus chairman by Speaker Brown might have been contrived so that Robinson could distance himself from the liberal speaker and thereby help his reelection campaign in conservative Orange County. But that doesn't seem to be the case. Robinson was stripped of his staff, a serious loss for anyone in elected office, not to mention the economic loss and anxiety for the staffers involved. The publicly stated reasons for Robinson's ouster center on his support for the governor's water and tourism programs. Robinson, an ambitious person, was also thought to be a potential replacement for Brown. However, there may be more. There is talk of Robinson's interest in a state-sponsored

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I ♥ Sacramento

Last month's Journal *contained a nasty farewell to Sacramento by Bill Packer, departing state capitol correspondent for the* Daily News *in LA. Mr. Packer didn't think much of River City and was happy to be going home. The editors of the* Journal, *always striving for balance, suggested that former bar owner Maurice Read, being a Sacramentophile (and foolhardy), write a reply.*

My first thought was to say no. I mean, that's carrying confrontation journalism a bit far, and anyway Packer's piece had one good joke in it about our hot weather that I've been using ever since. Besides, defending Sacramento would also entail attacking LA & Orange County — and that seemed like such an unsporting thing to do. I mean, what use would it be to trot out all the old clichés about smog? Or that a quite nice home in Sacramento goes for a bit less than a dog kennel in LA, even though their kennels are ostentatious. Maybe the best would be to wish Mr. Packer good luck and ask him to be sure to leave our water when he departs. What finally made me decide to reply was the chance to write something for the *Journal* that didn't require wading through a lot of official California state documents.

It's Mr. Packer's son that I feel sorry for. Packer lured the kid down there with promises of being closer to Disneyland. Has the man no shame? I can drive to the boondoggle that Marriot just unloaded on San Jose faster than most Los Angelinos (Angelites? Angelamias?) can get to Disneyland. But then, maybe Packer is going to really double-cross the kid and move to someplace close to Disneyland, like (quel horreur!) Garden Grove.

Scratch any LA Basin burb and beneath the filligree you'll find a Garden Grove. Let me tell you my Garden Grove story. It says a great deal about LA&OC. The last time I was there, my hosts insisted on taking me to the best restaurant in town. It featured English food, and with typical Southern California overkill the place was excessively, surrealistically English — complete with mock half-timber and stucco construction and a lot of Old English lettered signs heavily salted with terminal E's and Runic thorns. Inside the waitresses were all laced up, Tom Jones style, so they were oozing out of their containers and having a hard time getting their breath. I was happy to find that the joint did indeed serve Watney's Beer and the waitress assured me, breathlessly, that the daily special, "Cheshire Cheese Omelet" was made with Cheshire Cheese, though her countenance clouded over at the question. Ignoring this warning signal, I ordered it and experienced one of life's memorable gastronomic moments — a "Cheese Whiz Omelet".

LA&OC really can't be said to be a city. It's more like a confederation of suburbs. And only a few of these burbs really have anything out of the ordinary to offer. Those that do are almost always restricted to the very rich, and the rich in LA&OC seem to take more pains in restricting places than other California cities do. Maybe its their parvenu-ness. Anyway, in the ritzy glitzy areas they seem to have lots of private bars, restaurants and walled enclaves. That's just as well because it keeps all those entertainment-type, cocaine-crazed addicts warehoused and out of public places. Where there are no physical restraints, the prices are high enough to discourage all but a King Ludwig of Bavaria, of which there are more than a few running untethered around movieland.

You'll note that I haven't said anything yet in defense of Sacratomato, as we lovingly call it. That's because we're doing quite nicely. We have our two rivers; our blue skies; our hot summers; our symphony, performing arts center and art galleries; and, if we're good, our mayor may let us have professional sports. Sure, we have to go to Tahoe or San Francisco for name entertainment, but LA has to go to Las Vegas just to see their own residents perform. If we start hyping our virtures too much, those Southern yahoos may want more than our water; they might start eying our land.

There, that does it. From now on, the *California Journal* should be able to keep this space filled.

business development program that is of special interest to Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, Robinson's replacement as caucus chair. Under the program, selected businesses get favorable (because they are state-guaranteed) loans.

Some politicos have suggested that 1984 might be the "year-of-the-woman" in California politics. In the June 5th primary, for instance, women pulled off some notable upsets while winning the nomination to oppose an incumbent in 10 of 13 legislative races. While that's not conclusive evidence, two examples show that gender may have provided an edge. Take the case of Margaret Vineyard, an Hawaiian Gardens councilwoman who ran as a Republican in the 33rd Senate District. On the day before the primary, Vineyard said she had no chance to win against Cornelius Coronado, a councilman from the much larger city of Cypress. Vineyard won by a two-to-one margin. And then there's Marion Hundley, a LaRouche-backed Democratic candidate in the 31st Senate District. Although Hundley eventually lost, voters told Hundley's opponent time-and-again that they would vote for Hundley simply to vote for a woman. Hundley, who got nearly 40 percent of the vote, hardly campaigned at all. Of course, lack of campaign exposure may have worked in Hundley's favor — otherwise voters might have discovered that Marion Hundley was a man.

(Joelle Cohen, Los Angeles)

A party of order or stability,
and a party of progress or reform,
are both necessary elements of
a healthy state of political life.
John Stuart Mill

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.*

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Rose Bird

Your records should reflect that the undersigned has been a subscriber to the *Journal* for many years. This letter is intended to be a cancellation of my subscription.

My reaction is, of course, prompted by your May edition entitled "1986: The War of the Rose." Commencing with the cover indicating that there is a battle in the administration of justice between "plaintiffs' lawyers" and "law and order" and continuing in the articles in support of that drawing, you inaccurately, falsely, and in a misleading manner pose an issue which does not exist.

Lawyers, plaintiffs and otherwise are, as far as I know, overwhelmingly committed to law-and-order, and there is a total absence of any combat, real or imaginary, between these two so-called "alien groups."

Your editor, Mr. Robert Fairbanks, is much too modest. When he states, as he always does in writing on this subject — "She won confirmation but with the smallest percentage of approval in California judicial history (51.7 percent)" — he fails to recall that it was his largely discredited article that contributed substantially to that result. That article on election day, 1978, was carried by his former employer, *The Los Angeles Times*.

The *California Journal* has, of course, a right to an editorial position, but it should not be in the form of a series or news articles. Mr. Fairbanks has a right to say that *he* believes that the chief justice has become a symbol by "all that conservatives believe is wrong with the court." But statements such as "regardless of their stated reasons for contributing to Bird — plaintiffs' attorneys have a strong financial interest in keeping her and her liberal colleagues on the court" implies collusion and wrongdoing — and what an array of charging language — "strong financial interest," "liberal colleagues."

I suggest also that the two cases referred to on page 179 are most inappropriate to sustain the position asserted. *Peterson v. Superior Court*, 31 Cal.3d 147 (1982), simply held that a driver who injures someone while driving in an intoxicated conditon would be subject to punitive damages, and that the decision in the *Taylor* case would be retroactive. I did not know until now that those committed to law-and-order are on the side of drivers who injure and kill people while driving in an intoxicated condition. *Juarez v. Superior Court*, 31 Cal.3d 795 (1982), merely delineated the right of jurors, who had decided that defendants were not responsible for the injuries sustained by the plaintiff, could also discuss and vote on damages — hardly an approach to help "plaintiffs' lawyers."

Mr. Fairbanks has seemingly determined some of the issues he wants answered by the chief justice, especially as he frames the question, "Why is she reluctant to impose the death penalty?" and "Why should criminals go free because of a police blunder in making the arrest?" It would be a unique phenomenon to have the chief justice of our court or of any court explain reasons for decisions in press conferences or press interviews.

Two other cases are mentioned by him in his article, "Supreme Court Decisions Create Controversy Over Damage Awards." In *Li v. Yellow Cab*, 13 Cal.3d 1804 (1975), decided when Justice Wright was the chief justice, the court, following the lead in some 26 states, determined that the all-or-nothing rule should be abolished. Simply put, it removed the concept that if an injured person was guilty of one percent negligence, the person's guilt should remove responsibility from one 99 percent negligent.

Finally, in *American Motorcycle Association v. Superior Court*, 20 Cal.3d 578 (1978), the California Supreme Court, with only Justice Clark dissenting, held that persons responsible for death and injury were to be responsible in a joint-and-several capacity for all of the damages.

An argument can, of course, be made to alter that rule, and you have a right to an editorial position supporting SB575 legislation intended to make that change. But to suggest that these and other cases are the predicate of lawyers who resent political attacks on a court is without merit. All of us agree that the raising of political funds to support and oppose members of the judiciary is distasteful, but the tragedy of having to do so is magnified by your treatment of the issue. Your article, "Mining Deep Pockets," reflecting the view of the author that the Supreme Court has created controversy over damage awards for the benefit of the plaintiffs' attorneys, does a deep disservice to all of members of that Court and the rich tradition in which they serve.

My best judgment is that the damage you are creating and apparently willing to encourage serves no purpose, increases disrespect for our justice system and furthers the politicization of our courts. You owe an apology to the bench, to the bar and to the people of the state of California.

JACK TENNER
Judge of the Superior Court
Los Angeles

Fairbanks replies: I guess Judge Tenner is right: Virtually everyone is for "law and order." But I wonder where he's been lately not to know that the phrase is often used by various punitive-minded conservatives to describe themselves (one of Senator Bill Richardson's groups is called "The Law and Order Campaign Committee") and is often used by the press as a short-hand description for them ("law-and-order groups"). In other words, our cover was a fair representation of the current political situation concerning the State Supreme Court.

Concerning my co-authorship of that 1978 story in The Los Angeles Times, *I don't known what that has to do with the fairness or accuracy of my column and articles in the May issue. Contrary to what the judge says, the story was not "largely discredited," and if he wants to review it with me sometime, I'll be happy to trot forth the evidence.*

The judge also contends that one of the articles implied collusion and wrongdoing by saying, for instance, that plaintiffs' attorneys (or trial lawyers) never stated that they had a financial interest in keeping Bird and her liberal colleagues on the court. Our intention was to convey the ideas that trial lawyers don't like to talk about their financial stake in court decisions. And later in the article, we supported that idea by indicating that they spoke of their interest only in response to questions. To the best of my knowledge, the trial lawyers association has never to this day issued any statements about its members' financial interest in these (tort law) decisions. All of which says only that trial lawyers have an excellent sense of public relations. If the judge be-

Continued on next page

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Capitol review

An interesting facet of the Deukmejian administration showed itself the other day during one of the governor's news conferences. Boxed in by a crafty question, one that was so good that it demanded a response, Deukmejian looked the reporter in the eye and told him in effect to go to hell — he wasn't going to answer. It was all done very politely; not a cross word was heard. But nevertheless, Deukmejian made clear as he has before that he doesn't play the game.

The game? Yes, the verbal dueling that occurs between the press and politicians whenever a sensitive subject is at hand. The rules are clear. Reporters, in search of controversy or the ultimate truth (take your pick), ask questions aimed at uncovering the politician's inner-most thoughts. Politicians, not wanting to damage themselves, respond with the safest thoughts at hand. However, in order to qualify as frank and open, the politician must respond to every question that comes along. The results may be witty, humorous or testy — or any combination thereof. In nearly all cases, though, they are interesting.

Deukmejian's predecessor, Jerry Brown, was a regular player of the game. Although he often refused to answer questions concerning his private life (which is excusable under the rules), he rarely if ever refused on an issue involving politics or government. Also, of course, he was very good and often seemed to revel in the game. Brown's predecessor, Ronald Reagan, was another talented player who rarely ducked a question. Reagan's predecessor, Pat Brown, answered at length on anything and everything.

But Deukmejian is not a regular player. Whenever the potential for doing himself some damage appears, he gets up from the table and goes home. In the news conference cited above (on June 8th) the question involved his earlier promise to start a new North-South water project with or without legislative approval. He had made the promise in response to questions at a still earlier news conference (on April 24th), generating a storm of criticism that he has been trying to quiet ever since.

Thus, when initially asked June 8th about the status of his promise to go-it-alone, Deukmejian began by playing the game. That's such an "iffy" and "premature" question, he replied with a smile, that he simply could not respond. But later came the crafty follow-up. ". . . That may be a premature and iffy question, but it's a premature and iffy question you answered on at least one other occasion in the affirmative. So is your reluctance to do that today mean that you're having some second thoughts about whether you'd proceed on your own or not if the Legislature doesn't act?"

The governor was caught; his "iffy" and "premature" response had been neatly undercut. However, if he repeated his April 24th promise, he would start the controversy again. If he did not, he would be said to be going back on his word. At that point, Deukmejian stopped the game and went home. "I've already answered that question this morning and I really — I really don't have anything more to say on it," he replied.

This is only one of the more recent examples of Deukmejian's refusal to play the game. Last March, after his veto of AB1, the gay-rights bill, he put the controversial issue behind him as rapidly as possible by issuing a written explanation and by refusing to say any more. Similarly, not wishing to become involved in the battle over the Gann initiative, he declined before the June 5th election to state his preference and declined later to say how he had voted. (Some would say that this is not a bonafide refusal to play the game since even a governor is entitled to a secret ballot.)

In any case, Deukmejian's refusals to answer questions when it suits him may seem a bit contemptuous of the news media and its role as champion of the people's right to know. And, in fact, this administration seems far less fearful of the news media than was its predecessor and even its predecessors before that. Full of knowledge about successful political campaigning (direct mail, TV ads, phone banks, etc.), the Deukmejian administration tends to regard the news media not as a primary molder of public opinion but as another of the conduits through which the administration must present itself.

With proper care and attention, the administration believes, its message can be pushed through. But the governor's way of handling potentially dangerous questions from the news media may have less to do with his attitude toward the media than with his knowledge of himself. For the fact is that he's not a star player when it comes to swift repartee and the witty response. Few people are, and if you're not one of them but happen to be governing the nation's largest state, it may be smarter not to play the game.

Robert Fairbanks

Continued from previous page

lieves that collusion and wrongdoing are involved, he knows more about the situation than I.

Concerning the cases cited by one of the articles and reviewed by the judge, they all did what the article said they did, and his letter doesn't say that they didn't. In Peterson v. Superior Court, *for instance, the court made retroactive a decision involving punitive damages, thereby giving attorneys a new area in which to seek large damage awards. The case was not cited because it involved drunken drivers.*

In conclusion, I believe we were fair and accurate in the May issue and not disrespectful of the courts.

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THE GASOLINE TAX

Adriana Gianturco, fiery Transportation Director under former Governor Jerry Brown, says Californians were short-changed by last year's gas tax increase and the same thing could happen again.

By ADRIANA GIANTURCO

A new campaign is under way in California to raise more money for road-building, most probably through an increase in the gasoline tax. Citizens are being told that billions of dollars are needed to repair our crumbling network of streets and highways, and while the numbers don't always jibe, they're real shockers. The Assembly Office of Research says cities and counties will fall $4.15 billion short of the amount required to fix their roads in the next decade. A coalition of transportation groups says cities should embark on a $1.8 billion, eight-year rebuilding program. The most recent set of numbers came from Governor George Deukmejian's "Infrastructure Review Task Force." It said $19.2 billion is needed for state and local road work over the next ten years, and the gas tax should be raised five cents a gallon to pay for it.

If most of this sounds familiar, it should. For it was only a few years ago that many of the same persons were talking about the same crumbling roadways and urging the same solution as some are now pushing: an increase in the gas tax. And, of course, they got their way, at both the state and federal levels.

In January of last year the state gas tax, unchanged for the previous 18 years, rose from seven to nine cents a gallon. Also boosted by the same legislation were drivers' license fees (tripled), vehicle registration fees (doubled) and truck weight fees. In all, the tax legislation is expected to produce about $3.75 billion over its first five years.

Just four months later, federal road taxes also jumped substantially. The federal gas tax, pegged at four cents a gallon since 1956, went to nine cents and Congress slapped hefty new fees on heavy trucks, too. Since nearly all federal road funds are returned to the states, California should receive an extra $2 billion from Washington through 1987.

So why are we being told that we still have potholes galore and need yet another big tax increase to get rid of them? The answer is that the money from the last tax hikes — despite what the public was led to believe — is being spent in the traditional ways. True, local government, which gets about 25 percent of the new tax money, may (emphasize "may") be spending most of its share on road repair. But the state of California, which takes the remainder, is — as ever — using the biggest chunk of its new money to build a very limited number of extremely costly new highways. And given the politics of road building, it is unlikely now that revenues from yet another tax boost would be used very differently.

Highways vs. Potholes

Generally speaking, the people who have the biggest stake in how highway money is spent — real estate devel-

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opers, elected officials and the road-building bureaucracy — are not interested in repair. New highways increase property values for developers, bring campaign contributions to elected officials and create professional satisfaction for highway engineers. To expect these people to be overly concerned with the lowly pothole is to expect more than human nature will allow.

The public, on the other hand, is very much interested in potholes and repairs. A number of studies conducted in the years before the last gas hike was introduced — including two Field polls done for Caltrans — found that residents in nearly all parts of the state considered road repair to be the greatest transportation need, far outranking construction of new highways.

This public attitude is not difficult to explain. California's existing road network is extensive, including about 174,000 miles of city, county and state facilities in all, and relatively few of the major, planned segments remain unbuilt. Not many people are affected by the absence of these missing sections, while virtually all drivers are affected by the condition of roads already on the ground.

In addition, building new highways (or adding more lanes to old ones) is often controversial in itself, usually drawing opposition from those whose homes or businesses are in the planned right-of-way. And, of course, many people are concerned about the issue of environmental damage done by new highways, which often produce urban sprawl, air pollution and the loss of valuable farmland.

Given all this, it is not surprising that those who want to raise the gas tax talk about potholes and the crumbling infrastructure while saying little if anything about where the money really will be spent. At least, that's the way it was last time, and nothing is happening to suggest a big change.

The last campaign to raise the gas tax centered on a bill (SB215) introduced in early 1981 by San Francisco Democrat John Foran, who was (and is) chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee. The lobbying campaign for the measure was well-heeled and intense. Although Governor Jerry Brown had steadfastly opposed new taxes, he took no action to stop the bill and promptly signed it when it got to his desk in September 1981. (See Editorial Impact, *CJ*, January 1984.) It was the only tax increase of general application during Brown's two terms.

Much of the muscle behind the bill came from what is traditionally known as the "highway lobby," namely, the Associated General Contractors, construction labor unions and a smattering of business interests. Generally speaking, the highway lobby makes money regardless of whether it builds new roads or rehabilitates old ones. Although there may be some bias toward new construction (it makes for bigger contracts), the lobby's main objective in this case was simply to get more money for roads.

The lobby operated for the most part under the banner of "Californians for Better Transportation" (CBT), a coalition created to provide a unified front for the gas-tax bill. Surprisingly, the state's major transit districts joined the effort. While they stood to gain little or nothing from the bill, they apparently believed they might reap advantage on other issues by forming an alliance with the highway lobby. California cities and counties, which were to get a share of the new gas tax money, were also part of CBT.

As it continues to do today, CBT worked closely with an industry group based in Washington, D.C., known as "The Road Information Network" (TRIP), which was heavily involved in the effort to increase the federal gas tax.

To promote the gas tax increase, CBT andd TRIP launched a massive public relations campaign which prominently

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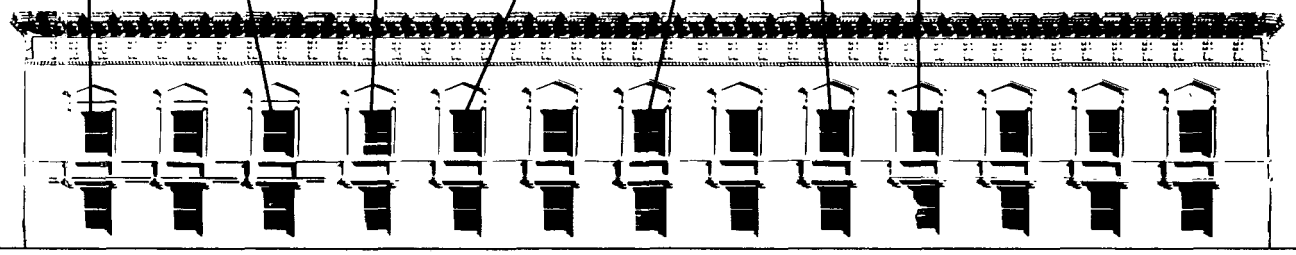

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featured a mind-boggling array of statistics and other information to show the extent of deterioration and the ill effects of inadequate maintenance and repair. An early TRIP fact sheet, containing figures that found their way into a very large number of news stories and editorials, said that 40 percent of the state's principal roadways were in either fair or poor condition and that it would cost $3.93 billion to bring these roads up to state of good repair.

TRIP also contended that bad roads in California result in a yearly waste of 828 million gallons of gasoline and cost motorists $1.5 billion annually for that extra fuel and for vehicle repairs.

More potholes

But one of TRIP's most arresting statistics was its estimate of the number of potholes in California's roads. It said there were 2.4 million of those annoying and dangerous craters on California's principal highways alone. Since TRIP pegged the principal highway mileage at 23,090, this means we had 103.9 potholes per mile, a truly rattling number.

(When asked recently to explain, a TRIP official said that TRIP began by deciding that the average pothole measures 16 inches across and five inches in depth. TRIP then divided the volume of its average pothole into the amount of filler material that was used in the state during the preceding year. Aside from the fact that record-keeping by road agencies is too primitive to distinguish between filler material used on principal highways and filler material used on lesser travelled roads, the TRIP formula measures last year's activity and not what may be needed now.)

Meanwhile, TRIP's mega statistics were supplemented with newsworthy anecdotal material supplied through the California Transportation Commission, a body appointed by the governor and charged, among other things, with allocating highway money and advising the Legislature on the need, if any, for more. Traditionally, the commission has favored building more roads and has generally sought more money for their construction.

During 1981 commission hearings often provided a platform for gloomy descriptions of California roads. Two statements got particularly wide coverage in the press. The first came from the public works chief for the City of Oakland, who said his budget was so inadequate that his work schedule allowed a street to be resurfaced only once every 200 years. The second statement, from a Yolo County public works official, was that certain roads were reverting to gravel for want of funds to maintain pavement.

Thanks largely to such statements and statistics, the public in general and many newspaper editorial writers in particular were convinced that higher taxes were needed to repair the state's roads. And, as finally enacted, SB235 did make a gesture toward road repair. It said that maintenance and rehabilitation were to get first priority in use of the funds, operational improvements (traffic-smoothing projects that add no overall capacity to a road) were to get second and new facilities were to come third.

However, the measure did not apportion specific amounts to each category and it left existing procedures for allocation intact. Similarly, the federal tax increase that followed California's tax boost contained no mandatory set-asides or other binding provisions for the funding of repairs. In fact, it continued the practice of making categorical grants, which are skewed towards new construction.

How the money was spent

So how is the new money being spent? Unfortunately, definitive information is lacking on how cities and counties are using their new revenues, which will amount to approximately $1.52 billion, or about one quarter of the total

generated by the state and federal tax hikes during the first five years. But information about what the state is doing is available and, as can be seen in the accompanying chart and explanation, only 14 percent of new funds flowing into the state highway account are earmarked for rehabilitating worn out facilities. New highway construction, at the other extreme, is getting 45 percent of the funds. And this massive infusion for new highways came on top of a program that already stressed new construction. Prior to the tax increase, 50 percent more money was going into new construction than into rehabilitation and maintenance of existing roads.

Why do things work this way? Because there is no organized, monied constituency pressing legislators and other elected officials to fill potholes. In contrast, real estate developers are routinely prepared to make campaign contributions in return for help in obtaining the roads or off-ramps that will open their land for subdivisions and shopping centers. New highways or interchanges mean access, and access means higher land values, often by staggering margins.

Furthermore, an elected official is likely to get more public exposure from bringing a new highway to his or her district than from improving roads already there. Nobody cuts a ribbon over a pothole that's disappeared. Besides, no matter how big the windfall to individual property owners because of a taxpayers' investment in roads serving their property, that investment can be — and usually is — touted by those in public office as contributing to overall "economic development" and thus as being in the public interest.

This bent toward new construction is reinforced by inclinations within the public works establishment, the professional employees and administrators of government road agencies. For most highway engineers, the design of a completely new facility from scratch and the sight of it taking shape on the ground is understandably more exciting and challenging than filling potholes and otherwise fixing something that someone else created years before.

Caltrans director Leo Trombatore, a highway engineer

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To understand how gas tax monies and other road fees are used, one must start with the State Transportation Improvement Program, or "STIP." Adopted by the California Transportation Commission after a lengthy, complicated process, the STIP is a five-year master plan for spending state and federal funds on highways and on some transit and airport projects. The document — a thick, computer print-out in its full-blown version — is updated annually by dropping the first — just completed — year and adding a new one five years out.

The Transportation Commission is composed of seven voting members, all gubernatorial appointees. Before updating the STIP each year, commissioners receive a proposed update from the State Department of Transportation (Caltrans) containing recommended new projects and expenditures. Also, locally elected officials, organized in 14 regional planning agencies, propose updates covering their areas.

In making its final decisions, the commission — like many governmental agencies — tends to respond to those who lobby it most forcefully. In this case, that would be land developers, with their local business allies, and elected officials. As mentioned in the main story, there are no organized lobbies for filling potholes.

Probably because of the constant pressure on it to build new roads, the commission itself tends to become a lobbying force for highway construction. In 1981, when the bill to increase the gas tax was going through the Legislature, the commission for the first time adopted what was called a "two-tier" STIP, the first tier showing the relatively limited number of highway projects that could be started if there were no tax increase and the second showing what could be added if taxes were raised. If nothing else, it showed lawmakers exactly what they would gain by voting for the tax bill.

If things were simple, which they rarely are in the highway business, you could see what the state has done with any new highway funds by comparing the STIP for the year before the arrival of new funds with the STIP for the year after. But this kind of straightforward analysis is difficult when considering the state and federal gas tax hikes of 1983. This is so because there were two separate tax measures and their timing was different. Also, the timing of neither fit well with the STIP cycle and there was the oddity of the two-tier STIP.

Thus, although the initial impact of the tax increases showed up in the 1982 STIP, the problems cited above make a comparison between the 1982 and 1983 STIPs a better indicator of how the new monies are being apportioned within the state highway account. The difference between the two years is $2.3 billion and the chart below, taken from Caltrans figures, shows how the money is being spent. (Another $800 million of the new money, not appearing in the STIP, helps support other state agencies, such as the Department of Motor Vehicles and the California Highway Patrol.)

— Adriana Gianturco

5-YEAR HIGHWAY PROGRAMS COMPARED: 1982 PLAN, 1983 PLAN, (PROPOSED 1984 PLAN) $ MILLIONS

Category	1982 STIP	1983 STIP	dollar increase (millions)	share of total increase
1. New Facilities	3866	4887	1021	44.6
2. Operational Improvements	1038	1401	363	15.9
3. Rehabilitation	885	1202	317	13.8
4. Maintenance	1786	2046	260	11.4
5. Operations	217	224	7	.3
6. Administration	467	481	14	.6
7. Program Development	26	64	38	1.7
8. Local Assistance	888	1155	267	11.7
Total	9173	11460	2287	100

New Facilities: Entirely new highways and interchanges. Includes expansion of existing highways and interchanges by adding new lanes, ramps and connections.
Operational Improvements: Features added to smooth traffic flow and enhance safety without creating new capacity for all vehicles over long distances. Includes left-turn pockets, truck passing lanes, bus lanes and median barriers.
Rehabilitation: Major work to restore and extend the life of pothole-scarred or otherwise badly damaged roads. Includes rebuilding pavements, overlaying road surfaces with thick layers of new asphalt and strengthening bridge foundations.
Maintenance: Routine, day-to-day upkeep of the highway system: picking up litter, mowing grass on shoulders, patching occasional cracks, repairing fallen signs, removing snow in winter. All done by state workers (the ones with the orange shirts who drive the orange trucks). Funding increase from 1982 to 1983 reflects mainly inflation and state salary hikes.
Operations: On-going traffic control, mostly by operating signals and lights. Also includes a grab-bag of housekeeping activities such as property management, selling excess lands and granting permits for hauling extra-wide loads.
Administration: Overhead for the Caltrans organization performed mainly by office staff.
Program Development: Work done by Caltrans staff to update STIP each year and produce accompanying budget. The 1983 increase was a one-time event; the amount is expected to drop in the 1984 STIP.
Local Assistance: Nearly all funds here are federal monies which the state passes to cities and counties and are shown in the STIP for bookkeeping purposes. The increase between 1982 and 1983 represents local governments' slice of the federal gas tax hike. Not included in this element (or any place in the STIP) is the money cities and counties receive from the state gas tax, half the proceeds of which flows directly to them.

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with a 35-year civil-service career, recently told *The Sacramento Bee:* "I'm not a caretaker. I'm a builder. So the challenges for me are to do something for the State of California. I'm not here to be a maintenance engineer. I don't need that."

Some supporters of new construction might contend that — despite TRIP's gloomy statistics on potholes and the like — the monies currently budgeted for maintenance and repair are sufficient to handle the problem. Therefore, it is proper to spend 43 percent of the new tax money on new roads.

Caltrans data

But that is not the case. Acccording to Caltrans data, the 15,200-mile state highway system needs at least $279 million more than the $317 million that has been set aside for repairs. Carefully conducted field surveys show that 2000 miles of busier roads within the system are unacceptably rough and/or structurally damaged in a major way. That figure rises to 4300 miles if roads with lower traffic volumes and less damage are added in.

In other words, had the billion dollar add-on for new highways been scaled back by just the $279 million needed to fully rehabilitate existing roads, every mile of pavement on every existing state highway in California could be restored to first class condition in five years.

Nor are the rules covering use of federal highway money so strict that a shift of such magnitude is impossible. In fact, the law that raised the federal gas tax created a new category of funds (known as "85 percent" money) that has virtually no strings attached. Immediately after the tax increase, estimates were that California would receive about $600 million in this category, nearly twice as much as was put into state highway rehabilitation.

And as far as that goes, some or all of these unrestricted federal funds could have been passed through to cities and counties for them to use on local road repairs — again as an alternative to construction of expensive new state highways.

In any case, it looks as though the 1981 drama is about to be played again. Roads are crumbling and a gas tax increase is desperately needed to save them. This time, though, some of the players may have bigger roles. Since 1981 a number of rail projects ("guideways" in the official jargon) -- in the cities of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento and in Orange and Santa Clara counties -- have moved far enough toward construction to have vocal and politically sophisticated constituencies pushing for funds.

And various transit districts, already affiliated with Californians for Better Transportation, are gearing up to make sure they get a piece of any new revenue legislation.

Also, local government officials believe they were shortchanged in the last series of road-tax hikes and are going to fight hard for a big share of whatever is raised. Vic Pottorff of the County Supervisors Association of California says the locals were so badly shortchanged last time that they ought to get all the money. "But," he concedes, "the political reality is that nothing is going to get through the Legislature unless there's a potential for legislators to end up with some new state highways in their districts."

"It's the governor himself who has, of course, the strongest cards to play in any new Sacramento tax game. In contrast to his predecessor, Governor Deukmejian seems willing to involve himself actively in the discussion over funding roads and other facilities, as evidenced by — if nothing else — his creation of the infrastructure task force. The task force has put the governor on the spot with its recommendation for the nickel hike, and predictably — this being an election year — the governor's initial reaction to the suggestion was unfavorable. Governor Deukmejian, no less than Governor Brown, has made a crusade out of his opposition to raising taxes. As well he might, considering that voters in five counties have recently rejected tax hikes for roads. In a sixth, Orange county last month, voters defeated a similar tax hike proposal despite heavy campaign spending to support the measure.

But Brown made an exception for highways and nobody should be surprised if Deukmejian, a firm believer in the highways and economic development theory, softens his attitude after November.

Statement from Kevin Eckery, executive director, Californians for Better Transportation.

The legislators and the public were not misled by SB215. More than 50 newspaper and broadcast editorials supported SB215 because California's transportation system had been permitted to fall into a state of disrepair. Many editorials expressed the view that SB215 was a "bandaid" and that even more funds were needed.

Whether roads are resurfaced, reconstructed or built from scratch is not the significant issue. The significant issue is and remains how to finance with fairness a balanced statewide transportation system so vital to California's economy.

The Department of Transportation Replies:

Despite anything said by Adriana Gianturco, we are taking care of rehabilitation problems on California highways and we will be current at the end of five years. We have 13 priority levels for highway rehabilitation and we will be down to number 7. This will provide good rideability and is, we believe, the appropriate level to achieve. A few cracks may remain in the highways, but motorists will sense no problems. There won't be any bridges falling down, I can assure you of that.

While it is true that more of the new gas tax money is going for new construction than for maintenance, there is a need for both. I do not remember whether the need for road repair and maintenance was a major theme of the successful effort to win the last increase in the gasoline tax.

The STIP for 1982, the last approved during Ms. Gianturco's administration, contained $2.9 billion for new construction and $360 million for rehabilitation. This means that the amount for rehabilitation was equal to 12 percent of the amount for new construction. The proposed STIP for 1984 again gives maintenance an amount equal to 12 percent of new construction: $4.2 billion to $520 million. In other words, we're spending the same percentage on maintenance as before. What's the big deal?

GENE BERTHELSEN
Press and Public Information Officer
State Department of Transportation

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The Perfect Political Spouse

By DOUG WILLIS

The perfect political spouse is even harder to find than the perfect political candidate. The spouse not only must be willing — like the candidate — to tolerate the endless inanities of campaigning, but he or she must also be able to tolerate in his or her mate the kind of egotistical, driven and always "on" personality required to win public office today.

While the candidate may occasionally relax the muscles that pull facial features into a smile, effecting a grave or concerned expression from time-to-time, the spouse must be trained to smile continuously for at least 12 hours at a stretch. Some experts believe such training causes brain damage. Others suggest that the damage came first and is a prerequisite for the role of candidate's spouse.

Most spouses today are females; that is, candidates' wives. But as more and more women seek office, there is more attention being paid to the candidate's husband. In some respects the role of husband is more demanding than that of wife. Unlike the wife, the husband has never had to consider changing his name to that of his spouse. Thus, there is evidence that serious trauma may occur in a male whose name is Smith, Brown or Blum after he has been introduced at least 6312 times as Jones, White or Feinstein.

But as previously stated, most spouses today are females, and the remainder of this discourse shall apply primarily to them.

The perfect political spouse is also trained to limit her public vocabulary to a handful of simple phrases. For example, the truly accomplished candidate's wife can survive an entire day in public with 27 words: "How nice to see you again," "How lovely, thank you so much," and, when pressed, "As my George always says — oh, but don't ask me; let him tell you himself."

Nancy Reagan

Many believe Nancy Reagan is the perfect political spouse, and she indeed has become the standard by which all political spouses are measured in several critical areas. She did, for example, laugh spontaneously — and with sparkling delight — at exactly the same joke in 113 consecutive campaign speeches by her husband.

Political spouses often produce political children, of which there are two basic types. Each may come in any shape, color or sex. Type "A" is always adorable, and at five years of age can stay spotlessly clean all day in a white dress or suit. This child always greets complete strangers with phrases such as: "Hello, I'm Amber (or Sean), and my daddy is running for governor. Do you know my daddy? He reads the Bible to me every night, and he teaches at my Sunday school."

The Type "B" political child always has a cough and an ugly cold sore under a running nose. This child always falls into the mud, staining and ripping his or her best clothes within 10 minutes of leaving home for an important political event. This child can be counted on to throw a temper tantrum in public and refuse to come up on stage with his parents, usually shouting: "I don't want to see my daddy, because he hits me."

Surprisingly, as adults, these children often end up the same. The Type "A" child, frustrated by years of parental and self-imposed discipline and overdosed on cleanliness, easily turns to debauchery, politics or crime. The Type "B" child, having learned to be irresponsible, also may turn to debauchery, politics or crime.

Doug Willis is a veteran California political reporter and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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The 1984 Primary, Results and analysis

By A. G. BLOCK

They threw a primary and nobody came. Or at least, that's how it seemed June 5th when only 47.8 percent of California's 11.5 million registered voters went to the polls. It was the least interest shown in one of the state's presidential primaries since 1940. Afterwards, a lot of reasons were suggested for the apathy, including the lack of a presidential contest on the Republican side. Also, there was only one strikingly controversial proposition on the ballot — the Gann initiative — and it was seen as an in-house legislative issue and was hard to understand. Not to be forgotten are the legislative races, few of which — thanks to the safe districts created by reapportionment — were real contests.

But more important is the fact that California's presidential primary is not as exciting as it could be, coming too late in the game to have maximum national impact. Even before Californians went to the polls, it was clear that Walter Mondale was so far ahead of Gary Hart and the Reverend Jesse Jackson in delegate strength that it would take a miracle for them to stop him. However, this doesn't mean that the primary had no meaning. Hart's victory here clearly boosted his chances, if not for the Democratic nomination this year, then in 1988. But how much excitement would there have been if the primary were in March, when a Hart victory here could have stopped Mondale in his tracks?

In legislative races, only one incumbent went down to defeat — Democratic Assemblyman Terry Goggin from San Bernardino. His political and financial problems finally caught up with him.

One last point, voter apathy has been a hallmark of all elections in recent years. As some have noted, it's been seen more or less continuously since 1972 when 18-year-olds were given the vote. Or, to put it more accurately, when 18-year-olds were allowed to register in hopes they would vote.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL SWEEPSTAKES:
The lessons for California politicians

Election results are always more than a listing of winners and losers. For political junkies, they are like the entrails of birds that fascinated soothsayers of old. They are to be poked and examined for signs of the times and predictions of things to come.

Results from California's presidential primary June 5th are no exception to the rule. Since there was no contest on the Republican side (it was Reagan all the way), the pokes and examinations are aimed at the Democratic results.

Political reporter Richard Bergholz has interviewed a cross section of Democratic leaders and produced the following report.

The whole California presidential primary has not been a happy experience for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, who plans to make another run for governor two years hence. He endorsed Mondale early in the game and campaigned for him. But it became clear to the mayor midway through the race that Mondale never had a good organization for a head-to-head fight with Hart and Jackson in California.

"I think our trouble was that we all had assumed the fight would be over by Super Tuesday (in March, when more than 500 delegates were chosen in simultaneous primaries in the East, South and Midwest) and when that didn't happen, we never got going here in California," Bradley says. "We had good rallies, but it became clear we simply didn't have the organization — and Hart's people did."

Labor

Many persons believed that labor would provide Mondale with much of the necessary organizational support. Mondale had AFL-CIO backing all the way, and it certainly delivered votes in some states — Pennsylvania and New Jersey, for example. But it clearly came up short for Mondale in California. And this has led some pundits to contend that when it comes to politics, labor leaders are nothing but paper tigers.

But none of those interviewed pointed the finger of blame mainly at organized labor for Mondale's loss in California. And many shared the opinion of Joseph Cerrell, head of a Los Angeles campaign management firm, that labor will continue to be an integral part of any major Democratic campaign.

"I will continue to beg and plead and cry for labor's support for my (firm's) candidates," Cerrell says. But he adds that sometimes candidates and their staffs tend to overrate what labor can do in a campaign. What the presidential primary showed this year, he says, is that "once again, labor can only produce (votes) when the membership agrees with the leaders on the political issues. And as for providing an organizational framework for a campaign, there are only so many business agents and shop stewards you can get to man the campaign posts."

Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy is one who thinks there has been a tendency on the part of too many politicians in California to overstate the power and influence of union leadership. But backing by labor unions can provide a candidate with money and access to a lot of pro-Democratic voters, and McCarthy, who is almost certain to run for higher office in the next few years, doubts there will be any significant fallout from labor's perceived failure in Mondale's California campaign.

There is another aspect of the California primary that is being studied carefully by Bradley and a host of others. What is going to happen to black voters after their exposure to Jackson's high-powered courtship? Will the dynamics of political races be changed significantly for any candidate who seeks black votes? And will Bradley, a black and a Mondale supporter, have a hard time holding his support among black voters who became emotionally involved with Jackson's effort to send the white electorate a message?

Bradley scored well with blacks who voted in his 1982 race against Republican George Deukmejian for governor. But he never campaigned as a black, only as a "qualified candidate who just happens to be black." Nobody will ever put Bradley in the same class with Jackson when it comes to stirring the troops.

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CONGRESS

One of the things that the late Phil Burton did for most of his home-state congressional colleagues was to use his considerable reapportionment talents to tuck them snugly into safe districts. The result was a June primary with little activity and no surprises. However, come November, there will be at least two hot races.

In the south, expect a fierce-burning contest in the 38th District (Orange County) where incumbent Democrat Jerry Patterson faces a tough reelection against former Congressman Robert Dornan, a conservative Republican with solid fund-raising credentials. Dornan was spared a bruising primary when his opponent — former state Senator John Schmitz — failed to campaign, thus saving much of Dornan's ample war chest for November. How well Ronald Reagan runs in this district will also affect each candidate's chance for success.

The hottest spot in Northern California could be the 8th District where incumbent Democrat Ron Dellums will be challenged by two black candidates. One of them is former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, an independent who bills himself as a conservative. Dellums' GOP opponent is also a black — banker Charles Connor who expects to do better than past Republicans in Oakland's black community as well as garner traditional GOP support in the district's white areas. Given the incumbent's recent record of running behind Democratic registration, this race could be close, especially if Cleaver mounts an aggressive campaign and stays in to the end.

Two other races may develop some heat as the campaign moves along. One is in the 36th District around San Bernardino where incumbent Democrat George Brown and Republican John Paul Stark will tangle for the third time. Stark thinks three's a charm, even though he lost in the face of a Reagan landslide back in 1980. The second race to watch is a Republican long-shot in the 27th District where former Los Angeles Ram running back Rob Scribner is trying for a broken-field touchdown against incumbent Democrat Mel Levine. Levine is a member of the Waxman-Berman team and will not yield ground easily.

District 1 (55% D — 33% R)

Bosco (Inc.-D)	**75,968**
Fatland (R)	20,605 (42%)
Redick (R)	**27,953 (58%)**

Bosco, who knocked off veteran Don Clausen two years ago, has handled himself well enough during his freshman year to make a solid home for himself in what was a GOP district just two years ago. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 2 (50% D — 39% R)

Chappie (Inc.-R)	**52,434 (89%)**
Brown (R)	6,326 (11%)
Cozad (D)	**24,265 (40%)**
Lundberg (D)	24,094 (40%)
Short (D)	12,431 (20%)

Chappie's margin of victory slipped a bit in 1982 but not enough to signal that he's in trouble. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 3 (58% D — 32% R)

Matsui (Inc.-D)	**79,005 (92%)**
Watkins (D)	7,331 (8%)

Matsui, who won with 90 percent of the vote in 1982, is unopposed in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 4 (57% D — 31% R)

Fazio (Inc.-D)	**60,024**
Canfield (R)	**20,916 (57%)**
Waltrip (R)	15,899 (43%)
Pope (L)	**195**

Canfield can't. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 5 (65% D — 20% R)

Burton (Inc.-D)	**70,951 (87%)**
Lantz (D)	10,385 (13%)
Garza (R)	4,694 (23%)
Guth (R)	7,851 (38%)
Spinosa (R)	**7,969 (39%)**
Clark (P&F)	**200 (62%)**
Zuur (P&F)	122 (38%)
Fuhrig (L)	**289**

Burton will use Spinosa for Sala dressing. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 6 (57% D — 27% R)

Boxer (Inc.-D)	**75,740 (87%)**
Lantz (D)	11,123 (13%)
Baka (R)	15,783 (45%)
Binderup (R)	**19,546 (55%)**
Creighton (L)	**420**

Boxer has recently gained some of the registration she lost due to reapportionment and the numbers heavily favor her. Binderup, a city councilman from Mill Valley, is well-financed and expects to run a tough campaign, but it's uphill all the way and there's no guarantee at this point that Republicans will provide resources to help him. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 7 (57% D — 31% R)

Miller (Inc.-D)	**77,944**
Last (R)	19,014 (50%)
Thakar (R)	**19,026 (50%)**

Thakar won the Republican primary by a mere 12 votes, which entitled him to self-destruct against the ever-popular Miller. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 8 (61% D — 25% R)

Dellums (Inc.-D)	**85,546 (79%)**
Lehmkuhl (D)	4,670 (4%)
Vamis (D)	17,988 (17%)
Connor (R)	**19,068 (55%)**
Hefferan (R)	15,798 (45%)

For the first time, Dellums will have to deal with a black Republican opponent — Charles Connor. In addition, he'll face the independent candidacy of former Black Panther leader-turned-conservative Eldridge Cleaver. Thus, the race is filled with unknowns. Can Connor take away black votes in areas that are traditionally Democratic? Will Cleaver run a credible campaign all the way to November? And will he siphon off votes from Dellums? Dellums, of course, starts with several plusses, including heavy Democratic registration and potential damage to Connor from what turned out to be a nasty GOP primary. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

CLEAVER

DELLUMS

CONNOR

District 9 (61% D — 27% R)

Stark (Inc.-D)	**69,648**
EagerBeaver (R)	**25,523**
Fuhrigh (L)	**230**

Stark has fairly well dammed up the opposition. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 10 (62% D — 25% R)

Edwards (Inc.-D)	**34,183 (86%)**
Fooks (D)	5,526 (14%)
Herriott (R)	**10,278 (56%)**
Jarrett (R)	8,067 (44%)
Kaiser (AIP)	**295**
Cardestam (L)	**181**

Herriott ran poorly against Edwards back in 1982, but Republicans feel that the incumbent has picked up some excess baggage for 1984 — namely, preoccupation with his House leadership role at the expense of district problems. Herriott will need more than a few gallons of district dissatisfaction, however, to overcome sinking GOP registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 11 (57% D — 30% R)

Lantos (Inc.-D)	**59,020 (89%)**
Schenk (D)	7,471 (11%)
Hickey (R)	**29,685**
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	**286**

Lantos' old antagonist, former Congressman Bill Royer, didn't bother this year after losing to Lantos in 1980 and 1982. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 12 (45% D — 41% R)

Zschau (Inc.-R)	**56,530**
Carnoy (D)	**36,134 (83%)**
Mattoon (D)	7,300 (17%)
White (L)	**461**

No way the Democrats pry Zschau out of this seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 13 (52% D — 34% R)

Minetta (Inc.-D)	**27,412**
Dias (R)	5,687 (17%)
Williams (R)	**27,328 (83%)**
Redding (L)	**350**

Minetta, former mayor of San Jose, won't be troubled much by Williams, a businessman. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 14 (50% D — 39% R)

Shumway (Inc.-R)	**57,781**
Carlson (D)	**26,095 (42%)**
Lawrence (D)	18,702 (30%)
Malberg (D)	18,125 (29%)

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Colburn (L)	**411**

The numbers have always been somewhat shaky for a Republican, but Shumway has made himself more secure in the district and can look forward to a leisurely fall. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 15 (58% D — 33% R)

Coelho (Inc.-D)	**40,271**
Harner (R)	**20,077**
Harris (L)	**71**

Coelho, a major fund-raiser for congressional Democrats and mentioned in a recent National Journal *article as a potential successor to House Speaker Tip O'Neill, is currently embroiled in a political battle with Republican Senator Pete Wilson over the fate of the Tuolumne River. Republicans don't have much hope of stopping Coelho's reelection, but they'd like to keep him busy enough to keep him out of their hair elsewhere in the country. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.*

District 16 (52% D — 34% R)

Panetta (Inc.-D)	**67,271**
Ramsey (R)	**39,248**
Anderson (L)	**314**

Democrats have strengthened their registration in this Carmel Valley district, and that plus Panetta's already immense popularity makes him unbeatable. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 17 (54% D — 37% R)

Pashayan (Inc.-R)	**35,918**
Lakritz (D)	**33,685**

Pashayan avoided a grueling election when district Democratic heavyweights like Assemblyman Jim Costa and Fresno Mayor Dan Whitehurst opted out of the race. The man who opted in, Lakritz, won't provide a threat. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 18 (61% D — 30% R)

Lehman (Inc.-D)	**54,277**
Ewen (R)	**24,562**

Lehman is home free. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 19 (49% D — 38% R)

Lagomarsino (Inc.-R)	**48,221**
Carey (D)	**22,576 (45%)**
Dosher (D)	12,283 (25%)
Norris (D)	15,079 (30%)
Zekan (P&F)	**147**

Lagomarsino is still popular enough to keep Democratic state Senator Gary Hart and others from mounting any challenge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 20 (49% D — 41% R)

Thomas (Inc.-R)	**51,114**
LeSage (D)	**20,554 (41%)**
Richardson (D)	18,823 (38%)
Serra (D)	10,683 (21%)

Thomas can represent this district as long as he wants it. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 21 (42% D — 47% R)

Fielder (Inc.-R)	**52,084**
Davis (D)	21,602 (50%)
Margolis (D)	**21,746 (50%)**
Leet (L)	**220**

Another very snug district with very solid GOP *numbers. SAFE REPUBLICAN.*

District 22 (37% D — 54% R)

Moorhead (Inc.-R)	**74,353**
Yauch (L)	**270**

Moorhead will have a Democratic opponent come November if 30-year-old Kelly Candaele's write-in campaign is successful. It's just a side-note anyway, for Moorhead's in no trouble. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 23 (57% D — 33% R)

Beilenson (Inc.-D)	**66,609 (88%)**
Dastig (D)	9,090 (12%)
Mazzi (R)	16,089 (45%)
Parrish (R)	**19,973 (55%)**
Leathers (L)	**258**

Beilenson, who raises less campaign cash than most incumbents, won't have much of a problem winning without it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 24 (60% D — 27% R)

Waxman (Inc.-D)	**51,172 (87%)**
Platt (D)	7,511 (13%)
Cayard (R)	7,208 (33%)
Zerg (R)	**14,789 (67%)**
Custer (L)	**285**
Green (P&F)	116 (46%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	**134 (54%)**

Zerg, who was soundly defeated by Waxman in 1982, is back again, and come November, he'll join Libertarian Custer at a political Little Big Horn. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 25 (70% D — 20% R)

Roybal (Inc.-D)	**36,773 (86%)**
Pike (D)	5,870 (14%)
Bloxom (R)	**6,304 (55%)**
Steninger (R)	5,101 (45%)
Bajada (L)	**118**

The registration gap here is just too awesome. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 26 (59% D — 32% R)

Berman (Inc.-D)	**43,396 (85%)**
Kuirdi (D)	7,809 (15%)
Ojeda (R)	**27,679**

A Waxman associate, freshman Berman should breeze to a second term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 27 (55% D — 33% R)

Levine (Inc.-D)	**64,926 (89%)**
Sabel (D)	8,328 (11%)
Allen (R)	9,373 (26%)
Scribner (R)	**26,198 (74%)**
Avrech (L)	**370**
O'Connor (P&F)	**207**

Levine is a Waxman-Bermanite seeking a second term, but he has a tougher go than Berman. Scribner, a former running back at UCLA

LEVINE

SCRIBNER

and for the Los Angeles Rams, has plenty of name recognition plus a healthy bankroll for his first foray into elective politics. Also, since March, Republicans have gained two percentage points in registration while Democrats have lost two — although the numbers still greatly favor Levine. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 28 (73% D — 19% R)

Dixon (Inc.-D)	**65,259 (91%)**
Talley (D)	6,267 (9%)
Jett (R)	**14,037**
Federick (L)	**110**

A Republican has a better chance of getting elected president of Paraguay than of going to Congress from this district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 29 (83% D — 11% R)

Hawkins (Inc.-D)	**64,304 (91%)**
Evans (D)	6,076 (9%)
Goto (R)	**7,141**

Goto will not go to Washington. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 30 (63% D — 28% R)

Martinez (Inc.-D)	**26,813 (75%)**
Danielson (D)	9,012 (25%)
Gomez (R)	**18,672**
Myers (AIP)	**164**

Martinez was expected to have a tougher time with Danielson, wife of former congressman and judge George Danielson. His strong showing, however, removes any doubt that he has solidified his hold on this district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 31 (73% D — 19% R)

Dymally (Inc.-D)	**50,100 (84%)**
Smith (D)	9,560 (16%)
Minturn (R)	**8,243 (59%)**
Odoi (R)	5,644 (41%)

Minturn will be turned away in this snap district for Dymally. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 32 (59% D — 31% R)

Anderson (Inc.-D)	**48,246 (87%)**
Schweitzer (D)	7,175 (13%)
Fiola (R)	**27,142**
Denny (L)	**159**
McCoy (P&F)	**115**

The addition of Downey — with its not-so-loyal Democrats — might make this a close district if Republicans mount a serious challenge. This isn't the year, however. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 33 (46% D — 45% R)

Dreier (Inc.-R)	**49,440**
Jeffrey (D)	15,228 (33%)
McDonald (D)	**31,018 (67%)**

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the secretary of state's office. The numbers after each district are the registration percentages for the primary election. Names printed in **bold** characters are the primary winners.

Abbreviations: Inc. for Incumbent; D for Democrat; R for Republican; L for Libertarian; P&F for Peace and Freedom; AIP for American Independent Party.

Note: In some districts where there were no candidates for a party nomination listed on the June ballot, individuals may have qualified for the November election via the write-in process.

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Lightfoot (L)	**168**
Noonan (P&F)	**83**

Dreier's only real fight came in the 1982 primary against fellow Congressman Wayne Grisham, who is now an Assembly candidate in the 63rd District. Dreier should easily make it back to Washington. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 34 (64% D — 27% R)

Torres (Inc.-D)	**27,541 (81%)**
Kelepecz (D)	6,619 (19%)
Dempsey (R)	7,902 (39%)
Grabiel (R)	1,659 (8%)
Jackson (R)	**10,577 (53%)**

Torres is now firmly established in this district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 35 (44% D — 45% R)

Lewis (Inc.-R)	**45,034**
Aiken (P&F)	**69**

Democrats didn't even apply in 1984. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 36 (57% D — 30% R)

Brown (Inc.-D)	**40,138**
Just (R)	1,858 (7%)
Pierce (R)	8,092 (29%)
Stark (R)	**16,262 (58%)**
Vallen (R)	1,638 (6%)

One of Phil Burton's legacies for the state of California is a congressional campaign season with only two Democratic seats that Republicans consider winnable. This is the first of the two and could be dubbed Brown-Stark III. Brown won the first two, 52-44 in 1980 (despite a Reagan landslide in the district) and 54-46 in '82. But with so few chances to unseat a Democrat this year, the GOP plans to go all out against the liberal Brown. They'll need a helping hand from Reagan at the top of the ticket to get the job done. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 37 (46% D — 43% R)

McCandless (Inc.-R)	**46,842 (82%)**
Mathewson (R)	10,562 (18%)
Gurtov (D)	13,877 (27%)
Pearson (D)	12,286 (24%)
Skinner (D)	**15,369 (30%)**
Walker (D)	7,109 (14%)
Wurth (D)	2,012 (4%)

Republicans in this district are considered soft support for McCandless but they should solidify with Reagan on the ticket. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 38 (53% D — 36% R)

Patterson (Inc.-D)	**35,252 (80%)**
Stephenson (D)	8,582 (20%)
Dornan (R)	**20,353 (65%)**
Jacobson (R)	7,625 (24%)
Schmitz (R)	3,301 (11%)
Bright (P&F)	**54**

This is the second seat that Republicans think they can win in 1984, and it promises to be the hottest congressional race in the state — and one of the hottest in the country. Republican Dornan, a former congressman who fell victim to reapportionment two years ago, was helped immensely during the primary when his main opponent, former state Senator John Schmitz, spent the entire campaign attending Georgetown University in Washington. Thus Dornan — a conservative money machine — was able to conserve his resources for a run at the incumbent Democrat, Patterson. But Patterson may not be as vulnerable as the GOP

DORNAN

PATTERSON

would wish. He has a better district than the one he captured in 1982. He's lost conservative sections of La Palma, Cypress and Los Alamitos and gained a tiny barrio in Anaheim and the city of Cerritos — a change that could net him two or three percent more votes come November. As in all conservative Southern California districts, Reagan's coattails remain the wild card. DOUBTFUL.

District 39 (38% D — 52% R)

Dannemeyer (Inc.-R)	**67,352**
Hoffman (D)	14,274 (36%)
Ward (D)	**25,949 (65%)**

Dannemeyer will have no trouble warding off his Democratic challenger. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 40 (34% D — 54% R)

Badham (Inc.-R)	**73,751**
Bradford (D)	**30,061 (71%)**
White (D)	12,352 (29%)
Quirk (P&F)	**74**

Badham received some not-so-flattering publicity when it was disclosed last spring that he led all members of Congress in taking taxpayer-financed junkets. In a competitive district, that might make for campaign thunder. Here, it's not even a mild rumble. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 41 (41% D — 43% R)

Lowery (Inc.-R)	**54,475**
Carlston (D)	10,750 (21%)
Hostetter (D)	9,325 (18%)
Mann (D)	4,640 (9%)
Simmons (D)	**26,774 (52%)**
Baase (L)	**406**

Bill Lowery's serious campaigns are behind him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 42 (41% D — 48% R)

Lungren (Inc.-R)	**67,549**
Brophy (D)	**41,199**
Donohue (P&F)	**100**

Lungren's toughest challenge came in the GOP primary — two years ago. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 43 (34% D — 52% R)

Packard (Inc.-R)	**52,786 (77%)**
Ferguson (R)	15,371 (23%)
Humphreys (D)	**20,411 (56%)**
Schmidt (D)	9,777 (27%)
Toler (D)	6,410 (18%)
Avery (L)	**243**

Two years ago, this district offered Democrats a chance for a back-door victory when Packard lost the primary to Johnnie Crean, then challenged Crean in the general election as a write-in. Democrats still couldn't take advantage of the GOP split. This year, there's not even a split. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 44 (58% D — 28% R)

Bates (Inc.-D)	**40,636 (87%)**
Carlston (D)	6,298 (13%)
Campbell (R)	**8,467 (54%)**
Lahaye (R)	7,284 (46%)
Conole (L)	**163**

Bates, a former San Diego County supervisor, should have no problems seeking his second term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 45 (41% D — 45% R)

Hunter (Inc.-R)	**43,514**
Guthrie (D)	**19,779 (51%)**
Irey (D)	19,281 (49%)
Wright (L)	**147**

Hunter is embedded in what has become a solid Republican district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

THE SENATE

Thanks to the 1982 reapportionment, what turned out to be a relatively dull primary season won't be much livelier this November. The 40-member Senate fills half its seats every two years, but only three of 20 races promise any real fireworks and all of those sparks will fly in the northern part of the state.

Of the three, most attention will focus on the 1st District brawl between two incumbents — Republican John Doolittle and Independent Ray Johnson. The district has been Johnson's turf since 1964 when he began serving in the Assembly. But back in 1982, GOP Senate leaders sanctioned a reapportionment that removed his home from the 1st District and put Doolittle's in. Johnson, a Republican, moved back into the district, and became an Independent. He and Doolittle have been going at it ever since. The Senate's GOP leadership is pumping hard for Doolittle. Johnson has the backing of other Republicans, plus what appears to be a tacit agreement from Senate Democrats not to back the Democrat in the race.

The second noteworthy race comes in the new 11th District that has been without an incumbent since 1982. There, Republican Rebecca Morgan, a Santa Clara County supervisor, ambushed two former senators — Marz Garcia and Dan O'Keefe — in the primary. She did it with a lot of money and some old-fashioned aggressive campaigning. The district is heavily Republican, but Morgan's November opponent has a history of gathering GOP votes — San Mateo County Supervisor Arlen Gregorio, himself a former state senator. Thus, another supreme shoot-out is in the offing.

Less of a shoot-out is predicted for the 3rd District where long-time incumbent Milton Marks, the Senate's most liberal Republican, will square off against Lia Belli, wife of San Francisco attorney Melvin Belli. The district — which includes San Fran-

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cisco and parts of Marin County — is mostly Democratic, a fact that has never bothered Marks' reelection chances. This time, however, he has lost the support of one of his traditional, Democratic bases — the longshoreman's union — and may face a tough fight from the youngish Belli.

District 1 (50% D — 38% R)

Doolittle (R)	**54,523**
Hornsby (D)	**34,557 (51%)**
Kennedy (D)	32,713 (49%)
Murphy (L)	**465**

The stage is set for one of the most grueling wars of 1984: Doolittle vs. 1st District incumbent Ray Johnson, an independent who did not run in the primary. Both are fighting for their political lives due to the latest reapportionment, and Senate Republican leaders have made saving the ultra-conservative Doolittle a top priority. Some GOP heavyweights have lined up behind Johnson, however, including Assemblyman Stan Statham who represents much of the same area. Johnson quit the Republican Party in 1983 after GOP Senate leaders sanctioned a reapportionment designed to remove him from the district and put Doolittle in. Senate Democratic leaders have decided not to be a factor in the race. With GOP loyalties split, they might have snatched away what should be a Republican seat. But they clearly favor Johnson, as was shown when their most promising candidate dropped out of the primary after a poll indicated that he would hurt Johnson and help Doolittle in November. The Democratic primary winner, Hornsby, has said in the past that he wouldn't even campaign. DOUBTFUL.

DOOLITTLE

JOHNSON

District 3 (57% D — 26% R)

Marks (Inc.—R)	**38,431**
Belli (D)	**56,914 (70%)**
Huffman (D)	24,279 (30%)
Pickens (L)	**488**
Kangas (P&F)	**292**

Another interesting race. Marks, a liberal Republican, has always attracted a lot of Democratic votes, but this year, he's faced with Lia Belli, a youngish candidate with plenty of name recognition — even if the name is that of her spouse, Melvin. Normally, this would not be a problem for Marks, but in 1982, he angered some of his traditional Democratic support — especially the longshoreman's union — by challenging the late Phil Burton in a congressional race. Age may also be a factor; Marks is 63, Belli, 36. On the plus side for Marks, he is a legendary campaigner in San Francisco. Also, the new parts of his district in Marin County are 35 percent Republican. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

BELLI

MARKS

District 5 (56% D — 34% R)

Garamendi (Inc.—D)	**78,484**
Saunders (R)	**28,830 (65%)**
Slade (R)	15,897 (36%)
Warner (P&F)	**127**

Saunders is a film actor who has played bikers and other assorted heavies and now wants to unseat the Senate's resident cowboy. Republican hopes rest mainly on Governor Deukmejian's strong showing here in 1982, Saunders' ability to put together some money and whatever hay might be made from Garamendi's run for governor in 1982. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 7 (56% D — 33% R)

Boatwright (Inc.—D)	**65,296 (71%)**
Patrick (D)	26,404 (29%)
Layson (R)	**40,310**

Boatwright has enough campaign money to paper over San Francisco Bay, and his court problems, stemming from conflict-of-interest charges, seem put to rest. His GOP opponent, Layson, a political science instructor at John F. Kennedy University in Orinda, ran for Congress in 1978 but bombed out in the primary. He's not considered much of a threat to Boatwright. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 9 (66% D — 22% R)

Petris (Inc.—D)	**93,495 (89%)**
Loop (D)	11,528 (11%)
Roust (R)	**30,809**
Kuehn (P&F)	**354**

Petris will roust his opponents. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 11 (47% D — 40% R)

Garcia (R)	20,679 (29%)
Huening (R)	15,465 (21%)
Morgan (R)	**25,114 (35%)**
O'Keefe (R)	10,195 (14%)
Swaggart (R)	841 (1%)
Gregorio (D)	**53,321 (80%)**
Shields (D)	13,321 (20%)
Castronovo (AIP)	**323**

It isn't so much that Rebecca Morgan won this primary as she won it so handily after most early polls showed her a distant third. A moderate Santa Clara County supervisor, Morgan literally bought herself name recognition with a $400,000 war chest for the primary alone. Her main victims were two former state senators — Garcia and O'Keefe. Now she must face Gregorio, another former senator and popular San Mateo County supervisor. Gregario attracts strong bi-partisan support, plus recent registration figures show Democrats gaining strength. Early polls indicated that Gregorio would win in November, but that was before the Morgan steamroller paved over the GOP field. This one will be very expensive — for both sides. DOUBTFUL.

District 13 (58% D — 28% R)

Alquist (Inc.—D)	**46,745 (81%)**
Pike (D)	11,122 (19%)
Smullen (R)	**24,771**
Roberts (L)	**339**

A laugher for Alquist. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 15 (55% D — 37% R)

Vuich (Inc.—D)	**48,844 (84%)**
Donaldson (D)	9,637 (17%)
King (R)	**33,453**

Vuich should have little problem staving off King. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 17 (54% D — 33% R)

Mello (Inc.—D)	**63,951**
Magyar (R)	**40,256**

Mello won by a nose in '80, but reapportionment was kind and strengthened his hand. Magyar is an educator and scion of a prominent Monterey County family. A Cesar Chavez-supported challenge from the far left — meant to punish Mello for his "aye" vote on David Stirling's nomination as general counsel to the ALRB — never materialized, and Mello should be home free. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 19 (42% D — 47% R)

Davis (Inc.—R)	**59,407**
Martin (D)	**40,878**

Martin is already trying to tie Davis to his "aye" vote on the gay rights' bill, but he'll need more than that one issue to pole vault over those registration figures. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 21 (38% D — 53% R)

Russell (Inc.—R)	**72,595 (88%)**
Hollywood (R)	10,242 (12%)
Moyd (D)	**42,410**

Russell has about as much trouble as a pampered house cat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 23 (60% D — 28% R)

Roberti (Inc.—D)	**54,001 (84%)**
Ruckert (D)	10,506 (16%)
Russell (R)	**25,573**
Artz (P&F)	85 (33%)
Cruz (P&F)	**170 (67%)**
Brown (L)	**308**

The only matter of note here is that Republican Russell is president of the gay-oriented Log Cabin Republican Club. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 25 (43% D — 46% R)

Richardson (Inc.—R)	**58,487**
Monaghan (D)	**43,392**

A slugfest brewing here. Unfortunately for the Democrats, Richardson will land all the blows. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 27 (85% D — 9% R)

B. Greene (Inc.—D)	**64,999**
Neely (R)	**5,088**

Registration figures would seem to hedge this district in Greene's favor. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 29 (44% D — 45% R)

Beverly (Inc.—R)	**65,653**
Distaso (D)	**50,305**
Kelley (L)	**340**
Savage (P&F)	**136**

This district is a disaster for the Democrats. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 31 (40% D — 50% R)

Campbell (Inc.—R)	**69,925**
Caress (D)	**28,905 (61%)**

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Hundley (D) 18,178 (39%)

Campbell, hale fellow well met, has himself a hale district well met. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 33 (57% D — 34% R)

Carpenter (Inc.—D)	**49,805**
Coronado (R)	13,956 (37%)
Vineyard (R)	**23,774 (63%)**
Hilfenhaus (P&F)	**61**

On the day before the primary, Margaret Vineyard, a councilwoman from Hawaiian Gardens, didn't think she had much of a chance against Chuck Coronado, a councilman from the much larger city of Cypress. She won, nevertheless. Now she has an even slimmer chance of unseating Carpenter. Her hopes rest mainly on how well Reagan runs in this southern Los Angeles-northern Orange County district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 35 (38% D — 50% R)

Seymour (Inc.—R)	**66,275**
Dudman (D)	**37,726**
Schooling (P&F)	**81**

Seymour capped a succesesful first term by becoming the Senate's GOP caucus chairman. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 37 (38% D — 51% R)

Bergeson (R)	**77,683**
Keyser (D)	**41,800**

Assemblywoman Bergeson won this Senate seat virtually without firing a shot. She declared early, gathered strong party support and drove all would-be GOP challengers — including incumbent Senator Ollie Speraw, a reapportionment victim — out of the race. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 39 (41% D — 44% R)

Ellis (Inc.—R)	**58,268**
Finnigan (D)	**41,477**

New registration figures show Ellis picked up nearly three percent. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

THE ASSEMBLY

Terry Goggin has been one step ahead of political disaster for a few years now, and this past June, it finally caught up with him. Two years ago, a Democratic primary opponent took nearly 40 percent of the vote, after which a Republican write-in candidate nearly knocked Goggin off. Since then, Goggin's political and financial problems have been frequent fodder for the media in and around his 66th District (San Bernardino). To make matters worse, on the very day of the 1984 primary, the Fair Political Practices Commission capped off a lengthy investigation by fining him $13,500. The result: Goggin became the state's only incumbent legislative candidate to lose in the June 5th primary, bowing to Gerald Eaves, a former steelworker and the conservative mayor of Rialto. Goggin's loss was something of a blow to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown who pumped a bunch of money into the campaign in order to save an ally.

His loss also upset Assembly Republicans, not because they counted Goggin among their pals but because they had high hopes of knocking him off themselves in November. Goggin's seat was one of seven that GOP strategists considered winnable in order to improve their 32-seat total in the lower house. Six other so-called "targeted" Democrats are Dan Hauser (2nd District), Jean Moorhead (5th), Pat Johnston (26th), Jack O'Connell (35th), Steve Clute (68th) and Richard Robinson (72nd). They also hope to take away the 63rd District seat now held by Bruce Young who is retiring. Finally, they'll keep an eye on the 44th District where David Shell is challenging Tom Hayden.

Democrats also have a hit list, although less ambitious than the Republican one. Democrats would like nothing better than to send Don Sebastiani (8th District) back to the wine business and will spend to make it happen. They'll also go all-out to defeat William Filante (9th) and Don Rogers (33rd).

If past experience is any guide, both parties also have a secret hit list of opposition candidates who may seem like sure winners but may be vulnerable to some last-minute or special form of attack. Naturally, neither side says much about such plans, hoping to keep its victims complacent for as long as possible.

The only other note of interest from the June primary occurred in the 70th District where seven Republicans fought it out to succeed Marian Bergeson who is running for the state Senate. The early favorite was Ken Carpenter — son of former senator and lobbyist Dennis Carpenter — who was expected to win a tough race with former Assemblyman Ron Cordova. But both lost to businessman Gil Ferguson, a retired Marine Corps officer who used $300,000 and a strong grass-roots effort to offset Carpenter's dollars and endorsements (Gerald Ford, for one) and Cordova's name recognition.

District 1 (52% D — 37% R)

Statham (Inc.—R)	**32,453**

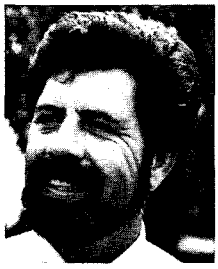
A marginal district under normal circumstances, but Democrats didn't even bother against Statham. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 2 (56% D — 31% R)

Hauser (Inc.—D)	**42,262**
Homan (R)	9,128 (31%)
Walsh (R)	**20,516 (69%)**

Republicans think Hauser is vulnerable, even though a registration drive in Sonoma County increased Democratic numbers. The district is basically conservative and Walsh, a Humboldt County supervisor, has in the past captured a lot of Democratic support in his home county, one of the district's two big voting blocs. He'll get a lot of money from Assembly Republicans, as will Hauser from Assembly Democrats. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

WALSH



HAUSER

District 3 (48% D — 40% R)

Herger (Inc.—R)	**32,562**
King (D)	**24,382**

Democrats ran a strong candidate against Herger two years ago and still couldn't get within 15,000 votes. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 4 (59% D — 28% R)

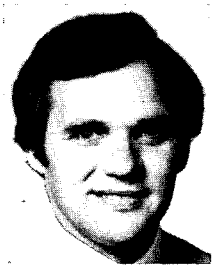
Hannigan (Inc.—D)	**35,840**
Barnes (R)	**15,933**

Hannigan can concentrate on other matters. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 5 (52% D — 36% R)

Moorhead (Inc.—D)	**37,109**
Leslie (R)	**24,116**
Carr (L)	**135**

This promises to be a gritty little war to the end. An elephant never forgets being jilted,



LESLIE

MOORHEAD

and the GOP plans to spend plenty to oust Moorhead who was originally elected as a Republican in 1978 but later switched parties. Leslie, a Sacramento businessman, narrowly lost a race for Sacramento County supervisor in 1980. Moorhead has recently lost a point of Democratic registration while the GOP has gained a point, but Moorhead is herself a conservative who fits well with the district. Lack of serious GOP challenges to Connelly and Isenberg in neighboring districts means more money and effort here. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 6 (58% D — 31% R)

Connelly (Inc.—D)	**40,694**

The Journal's *Rookie-of-the-Year for 1983-84 didn't draw an opponent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.*

District 7 (53% D — 36% R)

N. Waters (Inc.—D)	**37,748 (81%)**
Baker (D)	8,964 (19%)
Head (R)	**27,294**

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Baker, who opposed Waters back in the 1982 primary, improved his performance by one percentage point. Head, a former Monrovia city councilman who moved to the foothills, is not expected to mount much of a challenge. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 8 (53% D — 37% R)

Sebastiani (Inc.—R)	**32,998**
Chuning (D)	2,480 (5%)
Jadiker (D)	**25,418 (53%)**
Passarino (D)	19,810 (42%)

Sebastiani's people were pleased by the primary outcome — on the Democratic side. Early predictions were that Passarino — a conservative Democrat — would give the controversial Sebastiani a tough fight come November because he is articulate and, like Sebastiani, from Sonoma County, with its large voting rolls. But some say Passarino took his primary victory for granted, didn't work very hard and thus got himself ambushed by Jadiker, the popular Lake County party chair. Lake County has only one-third the number of voters as Sonoma County, thus giving Jadiker an opening handicap. Expect Assembly Democrats to give her plenty of help in order to oust gadfly Sebastiani. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 9 (50% D — 34% R)

Filante (Inc.—R)	**27,702**
Chignell (D)	**34,679**

This is one of the most Democratic districts represented by a Republican, and Democrats have gained several points in registration since March. Chignell gave Filante a scare in 1982, and Assembly Democrats think the San Francisco police inspector can go all the way in 1984. Since so few districts are truly contested this year, look for a lot of Democratic money to flow into his campaign. Republicans don't think Filante is in all that much trouble,

FILANTE

CHIGNELL

but they'll keep a watchful eye on the race and are prepared to spend to save the seat. DOUBTFUL.

District 10 (59% D — 31% R)

Isenberg (Inc.—D)	**36,680 (85%)**
Cleveland (D)	6,485 (15%)

Like Connelly, Isenberg drew no challenge. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 11 (66% D — 22% R)

R. Campbell (Inc.—D)	**41,046 (84%)**
Leonard (D)	8,078 (16%)

Republicans didn't even bother to oppose Campbell. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 12 (63% D — 24% R)

Bates (Inc.—D)	**62,759**
Foldvary (L)	**214**
Shireman (P&F)	**272**

Bates recently gained three points in registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 13 (74% D — 14% R)

Harris (Inc.—D)	**40,234**

You never know. Anything can happen. But based on registration and his showing in the primary, it's probably a good bet that Harris will be returned to the Assembly in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 14 (64% D — 25% R)

Klehs (Inc.—D)	**36,303**
Bergondy (R)	**6,919 (45%)**
Jones (R)	3,940 (26%)
Ruelas (R)	4,545 (30%)

Klehs' 1982 opponent — Ann Duncan of Hayward — ran 20 percent ahead of GOP registration but Bergondy isn't as strong a bipartisan draw. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 15 (39% D — 49% R)

Baker (Inc.—R)	**40,144**
Bauer (D)	**27,812**

Baker can represent this district as long as he wants. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 16 (69% D — 14% R)

Agnos (Inc.—D)	**34,690**
Bloyer (R)	2,702 (41%)
Woods (R)	**3,882 (59%)**

Agnos won with 82 percent of the vote in 1982 and has since picked up extra registration. Woods is a muni driver. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 17 (63% D — 19% R)

W. Brown (Inc.—D)	**42,695 (82%)**
Hodgkiss (D)	9,139 (18%)
Dolson (R)	**9,681 (74%)**
Donaldson (R)	3,484 (27%)

Brown's opponent, Dolson, is a former San Francisco supervisor, but the speaker should be able to concentrate on wresting away seats from Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 18 (57% D — 28% R)

McAlister (Inc.—D)	**24,594**
Mehan (R)	**11,170**
Webster (L)	**86**

Not much of a challenge for McAlister. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 19 (62% D — 25% R)

Papan (Inc.—D)	**30,721 (83%)**
Kilber (D)	6,286 (17%)
Bacci (R)	5,858 (42%)
Silvestri (R)	**8,151 (58%)**

Papan will return to Sacramento in December, but he'll have to wait for a Supreme Court ruling on Prop 24 (the Gann initiative) to see if he's still chairman of Assembly Rules. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 20 (46% D — 42% R)

Naylor (Inc.—R)	**32,601**
Lepore (D)	**24,173**

Naylor can concentrate on targeting Democrats. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 21 (54% D — 30% R)

Sher (Inc.—D)	**29,797**
Schweickhardt (R)	7,778 (50%)
Wingrove (R)	**7,900 (50%)**
Parlette (L)	**226**
DeSio (P&F)	**88**

Democratic registration here has increased of late, making this seat even safer for Sher. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 22 (43% D — 43% R)

Konnyu (Inc.—R)	**29,318**
Fleisher (L)	**241**

A Democratic write-in candidate probably will be on the ballot come November. In 1982, such a write-in polled 37% of the vote against Konnyu — but that's not enough to win. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 23 (63% D — 24% R)

Vasconcellos (Inc.—D)	**23,284**
De Amicis (L)	**148**

The Republican candidate dropped out before the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 24 (56% D — 31% R)

Cortese (Inc.—D)	**23,790**
Sandoval (R)	**9,530**

Sandoval, buried by Cortese in 1982, is back for another tilt at the windmill. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 25 (56% D — 33% R)

Areias (Inc.—D)	**25,023**
Hinkle (L)	**83**

This district has solidified behind freshman Areias. The only rumbling is a warning from Cesar Chavez about Areias' pro-agribusiness votes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 26 (58% D — 32% R)

Johnston (Inc.—D)	**32,367**
Wilhoit (R)	**19,315**

This shapes up as the hottest central valley Assembly race of 1984. Republicans are going to make a serious run at Johnston and think Reagan's ample coattails — especially against a labor-supported Mondale — will help pull Wilhoit over the top. The district is marginal, Democratic registration has recently dropped a point and Governor Deukmejian won big here two years ago. Johnston, it must be remembered, won this seat in 1980 on a recount and had a weak opponent in 1982. But he's served the district well and is highly regarded in the Assembly — even by some Republicans. Reagan or no Reagan, Wilhoit will have to work hard to make voters change horses. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 27 (56% D — 34% R)

Condit (Inc.—D)	**22,259**

Republicans had trouble rounding up a solid contender for freshman Condit. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 28 (54% D — 32% R)

Farr (Inc. — D)	**43,686**
Rate (R)	**23,855**

Farr's strong bi-partisan support is hard to overcome. He's even gained in registration of late. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 29 (43% D — 44% R)

Seastrand (Inc.—R)	**33,514**

Seastrand is another freshman who didn't draw an opponent. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 30 (63% D — 28% R)

Costa (Inc.—D)	**20,597**
Kennedy (R)	**10,059**

Republicans were prepared to spend to oust Costa in November. But that task became more difficult for several reasons. First, new Democratic registration drives made the num-

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bers appear tough to overcome. Second, Kennedy, a Madera County supervisor, flip-flopped by first dropping out of the primary, then announcing that he would challenge Costa after he suddenly won the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 31 (61% D — 31% R)

Bronzan (Inc.—D)	**29,895**

Freshman Bronzan was on the GOP hit list in February but gets a free ride back to Sacramento, thanks in part to the failure of a GOP candidate to file nomination papers. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 32 (48% D — 43% R)

Jones (Inc.—R)	**25,366**
Dahlstedt (D)	**19,812**

Freshman Jones has been one of the GOP's bright spots. His first reelection should be a breeze. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 33 (56% D — 36% R)

Rogers (Inc.—R)	**20,033**
Tackett (D)	**22,947**

Another burning cinder in the central valley. Rogers clung to this district in 1982 by only 1700 votes against a candidate much more

TACKETT

ROGERS

liberal than Kern County Supervisor Gene Tackett. The recent redistricting helped Rogers, however, upping his registration from 29 to 36 percent. This is a marginal district for any Republican and Tackett can expect plenty of moola from Assembly Democrats. His chances hinge on whether he can count on support from the district's not-so-loyal Democrats. DOUBTFUL.

District 34 (50% D — 40% R)

Wyman (Inc.—R)	**27,782**
Dean (D)	7,298 (24%)
O'Connor (D)	**14,316 (47%)**
Sherburn (D)	9,073 (30%)

Wyman was weakened in the same redistricting that aided Rogers, but not enough to cause real harm. Cindy Shaw O'Connor is a water commissioner from Bishop. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 35 (51% D — 35% R)

O'Connell (Inc.—D)	**31,916 (91%)**
Petris (D)	3,148 (9%)
Carpenter (R)	**20,546 (80%)**
Yount (R)	5,145 (20%)

This is another of those districts that Republicans feel they can take away from Democrats. Some feel they should have won it back in 1982 but their candidate blew the campaign. This time, the GOP is relying on Carpenter, the long-time Santa Barbara County sheriff, and he could prove a formidable opponent for freshman O'Connell. Look for some free spending from Sacramento on this one. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 36 (42% D — 45% R)

McClintock (Inc.—R)	**28,369**

McClintock is home free. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 37 (43% D — 46% R)

Wright (Inc.—R)	**28,405**

No major Democratic assaults planned for this GOP fortress, although Wright will probably face a write-in opponent. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 38 (46% D — 45% R)

LaFollette (Inc.—R)	**30,668**
Goldberg (D)	10,109 (35%)
Nelson (D)	**19,221 (66%)**

LaFollette should have no problems now that her old nemesis — Democrat Steve Afriat — is not running. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 39 (59% D — 31% R)

Katz (Inc.—D)	**25,515**
Kerns (R)	4,839 (34%)
Mannon (R)	850 (6%)
Moore (R)	2,023 (14%)
Thoreson (R)	**6,664 (46%)**

This is a conservative district, strengthened ever so slightly for Katz in the latest redistricting plan. Thoreson, a police lieutenant in the LAPD's anti-terrorist division, will have to wage an all-out assault to beat the numbers. That may be difficult until after August since Thoreson is hip-deep in preparing security for the Olympics. Assembly Republicans seem wary of committing resources to this race and will wait to see if Thoreson runs strong in the polls or if he can raise money on his own. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 40 (58% D — 31% R)

Bane (Inc.—D)	**32,285**
Gabriel (R)	**15,124**
Bull (L)	**137**

Bane is a bane for Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 41 (41% D — 50% R)

Nolan (Inc.—R)	**37,620**
Vollbrecht (D)	**20,059**
Gerringer (L)	**144**

Nolan will have plenty of time to collect chits by helping fellow Republicans. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 42 (42% D — 49% R)

Mountjoy (Inc.—R)	**34,952**
Smith (D)	**18,509**

Smith and Mountjoy tangled in 1982 and Mountjoy won by 40,000 votes. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 43 (57% D — 33% R)

Davis (Inc.—D)	**40,375**
Malouf (R)	**20,855**
Rhodes (L)	**146**

If he needs it, Davis can call on a war chest in excess of a million dollars. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 44 (57% D — 29% R)

Hayden (Inc.—D)	**39,756 (74%)**
Cota (D)	10,295 (19%)
Zondervan (D)	3,768 (7%)
Shell (R)	**21,016**
Donner (L)	**198**
Sommer (P&F)	**158**

Hayden again faces serious opposition come November, although Shell says he can raise only about half as much as Hayden's 1982 opponent spent in defeat (close to $900,000). Shell has gained a name for himself around Santa Monica by filing and winning anti-rent control lawsuits. Also, he has solid GOP bloodlines, his father being former Assembly minority leader Joe Shell. His sister, Barbara Shell Stone of Whittier, ran a close second in the 52nd District GOP primary in 1982 and his mother is mayor of Bakersfield. Hayden, of course, has the organizational support of his CED and the bankroll of his wife, Jane Fonda. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 45 (60% D — 28% R)

Margolin (Inc.—D)	**38,375 (91%)**
Gaulke (D)	3,796 (9%)
Jelmert (R)	**15,770**
Abrahams (L)	**177**
Johnstone (P&F)	**102**

Comfortable territory for freshman Margolin, a Waxman-Berman protégé. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 46 (61% D — 26% R)

Roos (Inc.—D)	**15,924**
Knoll (R)	**6,839**
Bates (L)	**95**
O'Brien (P&F)	**66 (62%)**
Gonzales (P&F)	41 (38%)

Roos should have an easy time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 47 (84% D — 10% R)

Hughes (Inc.—D)	**27,642**
Sanderson (R)	**2,207**

A Reagan landslide in California probably won't help Sanderson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 48 (84% D — 10% R)

M. Waters (Inc.—D)	**34,566**
Foster (R)	978 (28%)
Weiss (R)	**2,476 (72%)**

Waters has solidified her place in the Assembly leadership by being named Democratic caucus chair. That means she's supposed to help elect fellow Democrats, and she should have plenty of time for it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 49 (73% D — 18% R)

Moore (Inc.—D)	**46,686 (89%)**
Wright (D)	5,997 (11%)
Daniels (R)	**9,741**

If Jordan Daniels, who challenged Moore in 1982, runs 25,000 votes ahead of his 1982 pace, he'll still lose by 25,000 votes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 50 (76% D — 17% R)

Tucker (Inc.—D)	**41,716 (89%)**
DeVan (D)	5,257 (11%)
Coleman (R)	**8,214**

Another Democratic rout brewing here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 51 (40% D — 49% R)

Felando (Inc.—R)	**37,073**
Mercant (D)	13,223 (48%)
Tate (D)	**14,296 (52%)**
Gilmore (L)	**198**

Felando recently picked up more GOP registration. The only note of interest for Democrats is that Doris Tate is a law-and-order Democrat who is active in Parents of Slain Children. She is the mother of Sharon Tate, the actress killed by Charles Manson and his followers back in 1969. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

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District 52 (47% D — 44% R)

Hill (Inc.—R)	**25,405**
Arguello (D)	**19,942**

A playground for incumbent Hill. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 53 (62% D — 27% R)

Floyd (Inc.—D)	**25,080**
Mueller (R)	**11,379**

Mueller joins the Don Quixote Club; Floyd demolished him in 1982. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 54 (67% D — 25% R)

Vicencia (Inc.—D)	**29,599**
Decker (R)	**12,291**

Vicencia's 1982 Republican opponent got 33 percent of the vote. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 55 (69% D — 21% R)

Alatorre (Inc.—D)	**21,054 (84%)**
Pike (D)	4,137 (16%)
Marsh (R)	**7,535**
Rubin (L)	**88**

A quiet election year in East Los Angeles. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 56 (79% D — 12% R)

Molina (Inc.—D)	**14,617**
Hyde (R)	**1,892**

When you win 100 percent of the vote in your own primary — and still get only 13 percent of what your November opponent got — you got trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 57 (63% D — 26% R)

Elder (Inc.—D)	**23,463**
Inocentes (R)	**9,819**
Gundersheimer (P&F)	**53**

The Democratic part of Long Beach — a haven for Dave Elder. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 58 (44% D — 45% R)

D. Brown (Inc.—R)	**33,954**
Wilder (D)	**25,336**
Michel (P&F)	**97**

The Republican part of Long Beach — plus a portion of Orange County pasted on to this district during an earlier reapportionment — should more than offset whatever money Long Beach City Councilman Wilder can raise. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 59 (66% D — 25% R)

Calderon (Inc.—D)	**23,529**
Kee (R)	**11,775**

Easy going again for Calderon. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 60 (63% D — 28% R)

Tanner (Inc.—D)	**16,031**
Barela (R)	3,148 (33%)
Hagen (R)	2,464 (26%)
Van Note (R)	**3,942 (41%)**

Tanner once again avoided a showdown with a strong Hispanic candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 61 (43% D — 44% R)

Leonard (Inc.—R)	**28,191**
Kossman (D)	**20,090**
Hart (AIP)	**332**

This part of San Bernardino County is Leonardland. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 62 (45% D — 46% R)

Lancaster (Inc.—R)	**28,224**
Santell (D)	**21,744**
McConnaghy (L)	**97**

Lancaster, the senior Republican in the Assembly, beat Santell by 37,000 votes in 1982. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 63 (62% D — 30% R)

Banas (D)	3,906 (12%)
Escontrias (D)	1,238 (4%)
Feliciano (D)	1,108 (4%)
Fuentes (D)	4,598 (15%)
Lujan (D)	503 (2%)
Medina (D)	1,022 (3%)
Ohanesian (D)	5,584 (18%)
Roman (D)	892 (3%)
Story (D)	1,920 (6%)
Van Horn (D)	1,328 (4%)
Xitco (D)	**9,284 (30%)**
Grisham (R)	**9,799 (53%)**
Rabbitt (R)	2,555 (14%)
Richard (R)	6,280 (34%)

Bruce Young's retirement has set up an expensive brawl in a district that the numbers say should belong to the Democrats. But several factors will make this a closer-than-normal contest. First, the Democrats here are mostly blue-collar and conservative. Second, Republican Wayne Grisham is a veteran warhorse who served almost exactly this area as a member of Congress until the 1982 reapportionment threw him into a district with Dave Dreier. Xitco, who emerged from an impressive Democratic field, has good name recognition in the district as chair of the ABC School Board (where she succeeded Young in 1976). Assembly Democrats will probably spend whatever it takes to keep this seat in the fold. The GOP may spend an equal amount if polls show it close. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 64 (41% D — 49% R)

Johnson (Inc.—R)	**34,022**
Capdevielle (D)	**19,874**

Johnson has a November opponent, but not a challenge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 65 (48% D — 41% R)

Bader (Inc.—R)	**18,541**
Jackson (D)	**18,043**

Freshman Bader seems to have entrenched himself in what was once a Democratic seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 66 (62% D — 26% R)

Goggin (Inc.—D)	12,292 (41%)
Eaves (D)	**13,315 (44%)**
Hobbs (D)	4,725 (16%)
Henley (R)	**11,389**
Louks (P&F)	**31**

Republican hopes of wresting this seat away crashed when Terry Goggin ran out of political lives and was beaten in the primary. Fined by the FPPC on the very day of the June primary,

EAVES

GOGGIN

he was defeated by Eaves, the conservative mayor of Rialto. Assembly Republicans now seem to regard this as a lost cause even though their write-in almost won in 1982. That, however, was against Goggin. Henley is a wealthy former San Bernardino councilman who doesn't fit this blue collar district nearly as well as Eaves, a former steelworker. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 67 (35% D — 55% R)

Lewis (Inc.—R)	**37,135**
Anderson (D)	**17,084**
Abercrombie (P&F)	**34**

The second most Republican district in California. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 68 (55% D — 33% R)

Clute (Inc.—D)	**24,936 (80%)**
Costello (D)	6,244 (20%)
Olivarria (R)	**18,538**

Freshman Clute had a tough fight in 1982, and Republicans plan to mount a major effort to bounce him before he can entrench himself in the district. The man the GOP feels can do the job is Olivarria, an Hispanic police lieutenant from Riverside. For both sides, this race should form another spigot at the end of Sacramento's money pipeline. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 69 (38% D — 49% R)

Frizzelle (Inc.—R)	**33,017**
Gensler (D)	**20,118**

Frizzelle has a frolic. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 70 (31% D — 57% R)

Feldman (D)	**9,961 (45%)**
Hunt (D)	3,594 (16%)
Thorpe (D)	8,853 (40%)
Carpenter (R)	18,394 (32%)
Cordova (R)	9,046 (16%)
Dean (R)	2,006 (4%)
Doty (R)	706 (1%)
Ferguson (R)	**22,006 (39%)**
Green (R)	896 (2%)
Plummer (R)	3,825 (7%)

With the GOP primary essentially determining the November winner, Gil Ferguson pulled off the ambush-of-the-year. The retired Marine Corps officer and community activist began this campaign in March a distant fourth in the polls, with the prospect of having to spend a lot of money to better himself. He faced a former assemblyman (Cordova), the son of a former state senator (Carpenter) and a popular local official (Plummer). Poll leader Carpenter had it all, including endorsements by former President Gerald Ford and Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande, money from Assembly GOP leader Bob Naylor and support of the powerful Irvine Company. Ferguson, with help from Assembly conservatives such as Pat Nolan and Dennis Brown, spent his share (about $300,000) on direct mailers but also ran a grass-roots campaign using contacts made during years of community service work. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 71 (48% D — 42% R)

Allen (Inc.—R)	**26,672**
Kanel (D)	**15,401 (57%)**
Krieger (D)	11,858 (44%)

Allen faces her first reelection since defeating incumbent Chet Wray in 1982. If that victory was anti-Wray rather than pro-Allen, she could face a tough fight from Kanel, a Cypress city

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councilman. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 72 (55% D — 33% R)

Robinson (Inc.—D)	**17,256**
Longshore (R)	**12,467**

Robinson has been in the news of late because Willie Brown dumped him as chairman of the Assembly Democratic caucus. But that squabble may help Robinson's reelection because he and the speaker clashed over two issues important to Robinson's district — tourism and water. Longshore came within 12 percent of Robinson in 1982 but was helped by a GOP tide in Orange County. He'll need a Reagan landslide to catch Robinson this time, as well as a strong showing by Robert Dornan in his congressional battle with incumbent Jerry Patterson whose district overlaps the 72nd. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 73 (45% D — 44% R)

Kelley (Inc.—R)	**31,843**
Lopez (D)	**23,929**

This desert district is a desert for Democrats. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 74 (35% D — 51% R)

Frazee (Inc.—R)	**32,046**
Ramos (D)	**15,595**

Frazee has an opponent in 1984, but the match-up is about as equal as one between the '27 Yankees and '62 Mets. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 75 (36% D — 47% R)

Mojonnier (Inc.—R)	**32,469**
Wildman (D)	**18,921**

Mojonnier's flower-strewn path back to Sacramento is secure. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 76 (37% D — 50% R)

Bradley (Inc.—R)	**33,700**
Polesetsky (D)	**17,454**

Bradley is snug in this district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 77 (41% D — 45% R)

Stirling (Inc.—R)	**28,201**

Stirling, who was hospitalized with chest pains just before the June primary, is healthy again. Certainly, nothing about November's election will add to his tension level. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 78 (47% D — 36% R)

Killea (Inc.—D)	**29,141**
Boarman (R)	**13,323 (58%)**
Iseman (R)	9,786 (42%)
Sands (L)	**248**

Killea, a former vice-mayor of San Diego, got a slight helping hand from reapportionment, but this is still a marginal district with 13 percent of the registration listed as "declined to state." Boarman is a San Diego County supervisor who dropped out of the race but won the primary anyway. Assembly Republicans are looking hard at this one but it's difficult to convince voters that you are a serious contender when you've already given up once. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 79 (60% D — 26% R)

Chacon (Inc.—D)	**23,301**
Giesen (R)	2,501 (25%)
Gis'danner (R)	**5,166 (52%)**
Ramos (R)	2,216 (22%)
Tello (L)	**94**

San Diego's only solidly Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 80 (53% D — 34% R)

Peace (Inc.—D)	**21,939**

For a man on the verge of some serious political problems at the beginning of the year, Steve Peace has done quite well for himself. A rumored challenge from Cesar Chavez never materialized — nor did a Republican opponent. In addition, Peace moved into the Assembly leadership, having been named Democratic whip in the shake-up that dumped Richard Robinson as caucus chair. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

PROPOSITIONS

There were nine ballot measures in the June 5th primary, and the approval of Proposition 24 — the Gann initiative — drew more attention than anything else. But there was another interesting feature of the vote: the relatively high approval rates for Propositions 18 and 19, the park and wildlife bonds.

If nothing else, the strong support for the park and wildlife bonds should encourage environmentalists, many of whom have felt that their movement has been losing vigor over recent years. Apparently, voters are still solidly behind open space and wildlife protection.

Voters also appear to oppose anything that resembles a weakening of the civil service system. Thus, the defeat of Proposition 22, which would have exempted top officials of the state's two big retirement funds (for government employees and public school teachers) from the civil service system. This was the only measure on the ballot to go down.

Although ballot initiatives normally take effect on the day after election, unless they state otherwise, Proposition 24 remains in limbo. The Democratic majority that controls the Legislature refuses to put it into effect and has hired an attorney — with public funds — to fight it in the State Supreme Court. The measure, designed by Assembly Republicans and sponsored by Proposition 13 co-author Paul Gann, is meant to give the GOP more power in the Legislature and force a cut in the Legislature's spending on itself.

Here are the final results.

	For	Against
Proposition 16 ($250 million bond issue for county jail construction.)	**2,849,808 58.7%**	2,002,488 41.3%
Proposition 17 ($300 million in general obligation bonds to finance state prison construction.)	**2,783,848 57.8%**	2,032,045 42.2%
Proposition 18 ($370 million in general obligation bonds to acquire and develop state and local parks, coastal resource areas and wildlife management areas.)	**3,034,192 63.2%**	1,767,053 36.8%
Proposition 19 ($85 million in general obligation bonds to buy marshlands, wetlands and other habitat for endangered species.)	**3,078,806 64%**	1,731,286 36%
Proposition 20 (Removes from office any elected official convicted of defeating an opponent through use of libel or slander.)	**2,429,996 51.9%**	2,251,985 48.1%
Proposition 21 (Establishes trust protection for public pension funds and abolishes restrictions on fund purchases of corporate stock.)	**2,398,004 53.2%**	2,112,739 46.8%
Proposition 22 (Would allow state retirement funds to hire non-civil servants for top management jobs.)	2,142,009 47.9%	**2,326,221 52.1%**
Proposition 23 (Continues Proposition 13 property tax reduction for buildings that have been upgraded to comply with local seismic safety regulations.)	**2,431,935 53.2%**	2,138,312 46.8%
Proposition 24 (Changes various rules for legislative operations and limits the amount the Legislature may spend on itself.)	**2,398,960 53.0%**	2,127,718 47.0%

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THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Popular vote close but Hart gets bulk of delegates

The following is a list of delegates and alternates elected during the June 5th primary to represent each congressional district at the Democratic National Convention. (Counties included in each district are listed in parentheses.) Although Hart and Mondale were close in the popular vote (Hart — 38.4 percent; Mondale — 35.4 percent), Hart walked away with a landslide in the delegate count. Jesse Jackson finished a respectable third in popular vote with 20.3 percent, but managed few delegates. The final totals, including pledged add-on and at-large delegates, were: Hart — 205; Mondale — 72; Jackson — 29. (The presidential candidate each delegate is pledged to is listed in parentheses.)

DISTRICT 1: *(Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino and parts of Lake, Napa and Sonoma)*
Hess (Hart); Fulkerson (Hart); Newmeyer (Hart); Lowery (Hart); Wilkinson (Hart); Trowbridge (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 2: *(Butte, Colusa, Sutter, Tehama, Yuba, Shasta, Glenn, Trinity, Siskiyou and parts of Lake, Napa and Nevada)*
Dolan (Hart); Mulholland (Hart); Gard (Hart); McCullough (Hart); Enochs (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 3: *(Urban Sacramento)*
Seedborg (Hart); D'Agostino (Hart); Ramsey (Hart); Tucker (Hart); Thompson (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 4: *(Yolo and parts of Solano and Sacramento)*
Keene (Hart); Hannigan (Hart); King (Hart); Major (Hart); Truly (Hart); Lewis (Hart — Alternate); Tomasi (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 5: *(San Francisco)*
Ward (Mondale); Britt (Hart); Varner (Hart); Thomas (Hart); O'Connor (Hart); Holtzclaw (Hart); Lee (Hart — Alternate); Rosselli (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 6: *(Marin and parts of San Francisco, Sonoma and Solano)*
Sklar (Hart); Kondylis (Hart); Hongisto (Hart); Williams (Hart); Hunt (Hart); Albritton (Hart); Maher (Hart — Alternate); Craig (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 7: *(Contra Costa)*
McPeak (Hart); Campbell (Hart); Rocha (Hart); Weintraub (Hart); Vera (Hart); Christofferson (Hart — Alternate); Bjerke (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 8: *(Contra Costa)*
Burke (Jackson); Lubin (Jackson); Chisom (Jackson); Williams (Jackson); Kelley (Jackson); Baptiste (Jackson); Carson (Jackson — Alternate); Casey (Jackson — Alternate).

DISTRICT 9: *(Alameda)*
Brown (Hart); Sweeney (Hart); Perry (Hart); Lockyer (Hart); Ochoa (Hart); Walker (Hart — Alternate); Pantazelos (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 10: *(Parts of Alameda and Santa Clara)*
McCorquodale (Hart); Miranda (Hart); Collins (Hart); Leitch (Hart); Mezei (Hart); Hammer (Hart — Alternate); Barozzi (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 11: *(San Mateo)*
Speier (Mondale); Caldwell (Hart); Teglia (Hart); Sher (Hart); Yee (Hart); Haffey (Hart — Alternate); Graffigna (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 12: *(Parts of San Mateo, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz)*
Wyman (Hart); McKenna (Hart); Wozniak (Hart); Phillips (Hart); Smith (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 13: *(Santa Clara)*
Vasconcellos (Hart); Wilson (Hart); Sager (Hart); Carlson (Hart); Dickson (Hart); Clyde (Hart — Alternate); Torres (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 14: *(Modoc, Lassen, Alpine, Amador, El Dorado, Placer, Plumas, Sierra and parts of Nevada and San Joaquin)*
Hudson (Hart); Marks (Hart); Cecchini (Hart); Shook (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 15: *(Mariposa, Merced and Stanislaus and parts of Fresno)*
Fonseca (Hart); Zagaris (Hart); Lynch (Hart); Marino (Hart); Magnani (Hart); Caldeira (Hart — Alternate); White (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 16: *(San Benito, Monterey and parts of Santa Cruz and San Luis Obispo)*
Farr (Hart); Price (Hart); Nolan (Hart); Green (Hart); Arellano (Hart); Laird (Hart — Alternate); Baskin (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 17: *(Tulare, Kings and parts of Kern and Fresno)*
Ross (Hart); Brown (Hart); Altschule (Hart); Wallace (Hart); Ely (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 18: *(Calaveras, Mono, Madera, Tuolumne and parts of Fresno and San Joaquin)*
Bronzan (Hart); Johnston (Mondale); Loring (Hart); Klein (Hart); Fass (Hart); Mendoza (Hart — Alternate); Carter (Mondale — Alternate)

DISTRICT 19: *(Santa Barbara and portions of Ventura)*
Hart (Hart); Schwartz (Hart); Rose (Hart); Flynn (Hart); Nussbaum (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 20: *(Inyo and parts of Kern, San Luis Obispo and Los Angeles)*
Means (Hart); LeCover (Hart); Haynes (Hart); Rockman (Hart); Theison (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 21: *(Parts of Ventura and Los Angeles)*
DinGrando (Hart); Webb (Hart); Ronka (Hart); Garabedian (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 22: *(Los Angeles — Pasadena)*
Howard (Hart); Leib (Hart); Keatinge (Hart); O'Donnell (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 23: *(Los Angeles — Beverly Hills)*
Picus (Mondale); Edelman (Mondale); Rosenthal (Hart); Corwin (Mondale); Davis (Hart); Tuvman (Mondale — Alternate) ; Rabaya (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 24: *(Los Angeles — Hollywood)*
Waxman (Hart); Yaroslavsky (Hart); Roos (Mondale); Warschaw (Hart); Green (Mondale); Padilla (Hart); Howell (Hart — Alternate); Carabillo (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 25: *(East Los Angeles)*
Molina (Mondale); Gonzalez (Mondale); Quezada (Mondale); Nieto (Mondale); Yamaki (Mondale); Aguerrebere (Mondale); Lai (Mondale — Alternate); Johnson (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 26: *(Los Angeles — Van Nuys)*
E. Brown (Mondale); Tovar (Mondale); A. Brown (Mondale); Delaney (Mondale); Diamond (Mondale); Vescovo (Mondale — Alternate); Lowenstein (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 27: *(Los Angeles — Santa Monica)*
Travis (Hart); Emerson (Hart); Steinberg (Hart); Kinsey (Hart); Singer (Hart); Garcia (Hart — Alternate); Bliefield (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 28: *(Los Angeles — Coliseum)*
Archie-Hudson (Jackson); Brookins (Jackson); Hirano (Jackson); Kilgore (Jackson); Quarles (Jackson); Frierson (Jackson); Lewis (Jackson); Reid (Jackson); Pennington (Jackson — Alternate); LeMoine (Jackson — Alternate).

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DISTRICT 29: *(Los Angeles — Watts)*
Waters (Jackson); Mobley (Jackson); Harris (Jackson); Rochelle (Jackson); Belmontez (Jackson); Rivera (Jackson); Stephenson (Jackson); Wright (Jackson); Davis (Jackson — Alternate); Henry (Jackson — Alternate).

DISTRICT 30: *(Los Angeles — El Monte)*
Calderson (Mondale); Morales (Mondale); Torres (Mondale); Acosta (Mondale); Vega (Mondale); Tan (Mondale — Alternate); Encinas (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 31: *(Los Angeles — Compton)*
Tucker (Jackson); Henry (Jackson); Day (Jackson); Nakano (Jackson); Fields (Jackson); A. McDonald (Jackson); Thompson (Jackson); Higgins (Jackson — Alternate); J. McDonald (Jackson — Alternate).

DISTRICT 32: *(Los Angeles — Lakewood)*
Greenwood (Mondale); Guy (Mondale); Fisher (Hart); Gregory (Mondale); Hannaford (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 33: *(Los Angeles — Whittier)*
Rothman (Hart); Miyashita (Hart); Pritchard (Hart); Hasso (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 34: *(Los Angeles — Norwalk)*
Montoya (Hart); Placentia (Mondale); Vargas (Mondale); Reza (Mondale); Hine (Mondale); Gonzales (Hart — Alternate); Verver (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 35: *(Parts of San Bernardino and Los Angeles — Palmdale)*
Robles (Hart); Wang (Hart); Coleman-Maginn (Mondale); Bryant (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 36: *(San Bernardino)*
Curtin (Mondale); Harrison (Mondale); Garcia (Mondale); Carney (Mondale); Kinley (Mondale); Casey (Mondale — Alternate); Laguna (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 37: *(Riverside)*
Suitt (Mondale); Fabian (Mondale); Mott (Mondale); Arredondo (Mondale); Cucci (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 38: *(Orange — Garden Grove and Los Angeles — Cerritos)*
Robinson (Hart); Gonzales (Hart); Baird (Hart); Perez (Mondale); Reid (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 39: *(Orange — Fullerton)*
Hibbs (Hart); Haunfelner (Hart); Hammerman (Hart); Dillon (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 40: *(Orange — Newport Beach)*
Stein (Hart); Bellerue (Hart); Ernst (Hart); Conner (Hart).

DISTRICT 41: *(San Diego — La Jolla)*
Scott (Hart); Palast (Hart); Harris (Hart); Culver (Hart); Hartley (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 42: *(Parts of Los Angeles and Orange — Cypress)*
Baum (Hart); Williams (Hart); Smith (Hart); Wise (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 43: *(Parts of Orange and San Diego)*
Del Rio (Hart); King (Hart); Yusi (Hart); Lees (Hart — Alternate).

DISTRICT 44: *(San Diego)*
Deddeh (Mondale); Chacon (Hart); Williams (Mondale); Contreras (Mondale); King (Mondale); Sandler (Hart — Alternate); LeGerrette (Mondale — Alternate).

DISTRICT 45: *(Imperial and parts of San Diego)*
Moran (Hart); Powell (Hart); Trim (Hart); Jirado (Hart); Gouchanour (Hart — Alternate).

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

Continued from page 259

Bradley is low-key; Jackson is flamboyant, a Baptist preacher who can — and did — motivate countless uninvolved blacks to register and get in the presidential fight. However, primary figures here and elsewhere show that Jackson had little success getting non-blacks to vote for him, and there is some evidence that the more strident his message to blacks, the more turned-off whites became.

Bradley disputes any contention that the Jackson campaign has polarized racial voting. Concerning the long-term effect of Jackson's campaign on state politics, Bradley says it will have none on his planned race for governor, either with blacks or with whites.

But the question of future black-white relations in California politics clearly is troubling some, and Assemblywoman Maxine Waters of Los Angeles, a longtime Jackson leader, says it calls for some soul-searching by the non-black community. Whites simply found it hard to vote for Jackson and she contends some explanations are needed.

Is it racism? "Evidently there's something going on in their (whites') thinking that transcends the actual political issue itself," Waters replies.

She has no patience with black politicians (she didn't mention Bradley by name) who chose to go with a white candidate over Jackson, and she hints that those blacks will have some explaining to do the next time they run for office. "Traditional politicians don't want to alienate the so-called business community because they look to them for support and they look to them for the nod and think they have so much influence that it's important not to alienate them," she says.

Dr. Larry L. Berg, director of USC's Institute of Politics and Government, is one observer who believes the Jackson style of campaigning has made it more difficult for black candidates to run winning campaigns in the future. Berg wonders what's going to come of the Jackson constituency: "Maybe it will be like La Raza Unida, the Hispanic movement which flourished and then failed because it never produced any election victories." Some political professionals are waiting to see whether all those emotionally-charged Jackson supporters become the nucleus of a continuing organization, or whether they will be just a "reflection of a bright but brief Jackson fling."

Any number of observers saw Hart's triumph over Mondale in California as something of a disenchantment with Mondale rather than a burning passion for the Colorado senator. Hart won where he was supposed to win — with the high-tech people, the youngish upwardly mobile professionals, with those who were looking for something "new" in politics (however they defined it). The pros seemed to feel there was no great signpost for the future in the Hart win here, other than that it sure helps to have the kind of organization Hart had in California to turn out the troops come election time.

Former Governor Jerry Brown, himself a sometimes advocate of the "new" in politics, wasn't terribly thrilled by the Hart and Mondale campaigns. The low voter turnout — 47.8 percent — was due in part, he says, to the belief that "ideologically there wasn't much to choose between the candidates. Most of their differences were forced, were strained."

Brown, who tried twice to win the Democratic presidential nomination and still would like to be president someday, sat out the primary without choosing sides. He says now that Mondale will have to develop stronger issues that will motivate Democrats to go to the polls in November. He feels Mondale probably will not be able to "scare" Democrats to the polls with an anti-Reagan pitch. The president's hard-line rhetoric "is filling the need of many Americans for a strong posture in foreign affairs," Brown says, "but it is certainly not improving this nation's position as a world leader."

A philosophical liberal most of his political life, Brown now finds liberals "fragmented, divided and leaderless" and says it is up to Mondale and the others to bring them together against Reagan. But Brown shied away from any negative comments about Mondale, Hart and Jackson or about the way they campaigned. Nor would he venture an opinion on whether Jackson's black constituents or Hart's new-found Democratic independents will stay in the party in November. All he would say is that he hopes they won't drift away.

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Do women candidates face a gender gap when raising money?

By SHERRY BEBITCH JEFFE
and TERRI E. JONISCH

At the Eagleton Institute's Forum for Women State Legislators in San Diego last December, California Assemblywoman Gwen Moore was discussing the "war chest" amassed by Los Angeles City Councilwoman Joy Picus. When she estimated the total at $150,000, the audience gasped. While many were surprised because the amount seemed so large, the Californians gasped because they expected Picus to have more — considering that some of her male colleagues had political funds approaching the million dollar mark.

Moore's point was that women incumbents, who have a vote equal in value to that of their colleagues, seem unable to raise as much money in campaign contributions. What she was demanding was "equal contributions for equal votes." And Moore is not alone. Others also have questioned whether the fat cats — so to speak — are discriminating in favor of men.

The subject of a gender gap in campaign contributions has not received much attention until recently. Although Common Cause and the American Association of University Women both are looking into the subject, there hasn't been an in-depth study to determine whether such a gap exists, and if so, to determine its extent and cause.

However, an examination of reports to the Fair Political Practices Commission covering the most recent election cycle (1981-82) for current members of the state Assembly does reveal a gap between men and women But the women were not treated as unfairly as a preliminary review of the numbers may indicate. In fact, some women actually did quite well.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Ph.D., is project director of the Study of State Legislative Leadership at the USC Institute of Politics and Government. Terri E. Jonisch is vice president of Government Relations for Security Pacific Bank in Los Angeles.

Gross campaign contributions indicate that assemblymen received an average contribution total of $321,678 during the 1982 cycle. By comparison, assemblywomen received average total contributions of only $225,510.83 — a "gender gap" of nearly 30 percent.

But figures are not always what

they seem. In this case, they are skewed by three male fund-raisers whose situations make each a special case. They are Speaker Willie Brown and assemblymen Gray Davis and Tom Hayden. The speakership is a magnet for campaign cash, and Brown — who raised nearly $4 million in 1981-82 — is one of the most successful fund-raisers ever. Davis, because of his six years as chief of staff to former Governor Jerry Brown, was able to amass contributions of more than one million. Jane Fonda, Hayden's wife, accounted for more than one million of Hayden's total contributions.

Thus, when money raised by Brown, Davis and Hayden is factored out, the 12 assemblywomen and remaining 65 assemblymen fared about the same, with the average for female legislators jumping to 96 percent of that for men — not a dramatic difference.

One-on-one

On an individual basis, a sampling of contribution reports furthers the notion that men and women are not far apart. For example, freshman Assembly Democrats Lucy Killea and Steve Peace both represent the San Diego area and had almost identical fund-raising records in 1981-82. Killea, former vice-mayor of San Diego, raised $321,379 while Peace took in $310,748. Both candidates received nearly 50 percent of their total contributions from Willie Brown ($161,323 for Killea; $146,664 for Peace). Each also raised just over $146,000 from political action groups and special interests. To explain her fund-raising success, Killea notes that as a former member of the city council she was able to raise a fair bit of money locally.

On the Republican side, Assembly members Marian Bergeson and William Baker are both minority whips and members of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. Both also represent fairly affluent suburban areas (Bergeson, Orange County; Baker, Contra Costa County near San Francisco). Bergeson was elected in 1978; Baker two years later. For 1981-82 Baker out-raised Bergeson $171,044-$143,094. But in 1983 Bergeson turned that around. Looking ahead to a run for the state Senate in 1984, she pulled in over $240,000 in a non-election year. Baker, seeking another Assembly term from a relatively safe district, raised but $101,280.

Totals from two other Assembly Republicans — Cathie Wright from Simi Valley and Wally Herger from Rio Oso — show that a woman can raise substantially more than a man. In 1981-82 Wright took in $301,667; Herger $183,728 — despite the fact that Herger had the tougher campaign. Herger raised $176,844 from special interests and just under $7000 from the state Republican Party and fellow officeholders. Wright, on the other hand, raised $231,771 from PACs and others (including $45,000 from United for California, a business-supported PAC), with nearly $70,000 coming from other candidates, officeholders and the state GOP.

Assemblywoman Moore chairs the Utilities and Commerce Committee, which deals with cable TV and related issues — a fertile field for developing campaign contributions. As might be

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expected, the chair received about 15 percent more from cable contributors than did Democratic Assemblyman Richard Katz, also of Los Angeles, who served on the committee for six months. However, when it came to total contributions, Katz received almost three times as much money as Moore: $330,285 to $113,130.

Both Katz and Moore agree that the wide divergence can be partially attributed to the safety of Moore's 49th Assembly District. Because of this, she has not put much emphasis on raising money.

But Moore is ready to change. "I'm going to get into it (raising money) now . . . I have new expectations as a committee chair."

These comparisons give mixed signals about the relative ability of men and women to raise campaign funds. They do show, however, that there is no hard-and-fast rule that says that men always raise more than women.

Other factors

Frequently there are other factors that make a significant impact on how much a given legislator is able to raise — committee assignments, ideology, district profile, leadership position and ambition. To the extent that a fund-raising gap does exist, it seems to be largely the product of "socialization."

Over the years, women have been socialized differently from men. They have not traditionally been "socialized" to hustle or to be aggressive. And it was "hustle" that legislators cited most often as the key to successful fund-raising. Assemblywoman Moore notes that women have only recently become aware of this but that "men aggressively, continuously pursue the dollar."

Assemblywoman Killea agrees that women are not as aggressive as men when it comes to asking for campaign contributions. "It comes harder for us," she says. "If you had the same kind of aggressive attitude in women, it might turn people off. So you (women) kind of lose both ways."

Says Donna Bojarsky, executive director of the Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund: "Because women are newer to the political process, they're just learning to play the game that men have been playing all along. And they (women) need to learn fund-raising skills. It's the next level of political sophistication."

Leadership

To date, no woman has joined Willie Brown, Tom Hayden and Gray Davis in the million-dollar club. No woman has yet been named Assembly speaker, with its fund-raising potential and responsibilities. (Although in late May, Assemblywoman Maxine Waters was named chair of the Assembly Democratic Caucus, replacing Richard Robinson. It remains to be seen whether her new position will enhance Waters' fund-raising ability.) Nor has a woman been appointed chief of staff to a governor where connections can be made with major contributors.

There is little doubt that a woman will eventually achieve one of these major leadership positions. The unanswered question is: How effectively will she trade on it to raise campaign money?

Jarvis which?

By JOHN H. SULLIVAN

To be III or IV? That is the question.

Now that Howard Jarvis' latest initiative has qualified for the November ballot, it is time to address the task of determining its proper number in the Jarvisian series.

The need to number the Jarvis offerings did not arise until 1980 when his Proposition 9, an unsuccessful try at cutting the state personal income tax in half, headed for the June ballot. This initiative was deemed "Jarvis II." Cartoonists and opponents played upon its concidence with another episode in the popular film biography of a shark and nicknamed it "Jaws II."

Thus, Proposition 13 retroactively became "Jarvis I," although Jarvis coauthored it with Paul Gann.

In 1982 Jarvis presented a statutory initiative to index the state's personal income tax. It appeared on the June ballot as Proposition 7 and was approved. Unlike the other Jarvis proposals, this one followed ground

broken by the Legislature and was a mild idea when viewed alongside its predecessors. According to many, it did not have the right stuff for "Jaws III."

If voter approval is essential to a Jarvis initiative retaining its numerical designation, then Jarvis II, the income tax cut, was revoked on the day it failed and became available for reapplication as Jarvis II, the indexer. Such an approach supports those referring to the current initiative as Jarvis III.

If a proposal must be of constitutional magnitude to qualify for Roman designation, then the indexing initiative — despite its success — is a nonentity in the series. In this case, the result is the same as above. The current initiative is Jarvis III.

Although they have yet to make themselves known, there may very well be those whose numbering scheme requires both final enactment and constitutional status. To them, the current initiative would be "Jarvis II."

This issue can be further complicated if one recalls that last summer Jarvis submitted for circulation what turned out to be an early draft of the current initiative. It was pulled back, but not before undergoing hours of study. A small group, believed made of those devoting the longest hours to this premature analysis, has been attempting to salvage something for its efforts by naming that version "Jarvis IV." They would prefer the current initiative be known as Jarvis V.

But to those of us who give credit for large though unsuccessful efforts and who avoid technical distinctions, the current initiative is the fourth in a line and as such must be known as Jarvis or Jaws IV.

John H. Sullivan is vice president and general counsel of the California Taxpayers' Association

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Detente a long way off between these long-time foes

By HARRY BERNSTEIN

To the surprise of no one, organized labor in California has little good to say about the administration of Republican Governor George Deukmejian. After all, unions fought hard to elect Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley in 1982 and odds are that they will fight again for whatever Democrat opposes Deukmejian's expected reelection bid in 1986. For his part, the governor has made few gestures toward reconciliation.

The most widely publicized battles between the administration and labor have been over farm-labor issues, with the governor generally siding with growers in their long-standing fight against Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers of America. But there are other areas of less-publicized conflict, ranging from the governor's disputes with state workers and their unions to budget cuts in labor-law enforcement agencies and such seemingly small but in reality important areas such as unfilled vacancies on state boards and commissions.

In many of these areas, union leaders — despite their differences with the governor — would like to see issues settled without name-calling and recrimination. But, they complain, they are being "frozen out" of the governor's office.

Administration officials deny that union leaders are deprived of access. Ron Rinaldi, industrial relations director for the state — in effect, the state secretary of labor — says his relations with unions are "good, and I am a member of the governor's cabinet."

He meets with union leaders regularly, he continues, and passes their recommendations for gubernatorial appointments to the governor.

As a veteran of 22 years in the Industrial Relations Department, Rinaldi insists his role as a communicator between labor and the governor demonstrates the administration's openness to organized labor. He does concede, however, that none of labor's recommendations made through him for government appointments has been accepted so far.

Harry Bernstein is a veteran labor reporter for The Los Angeles Times.

Major fights

The major fights involve the Industrial Welfare Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Appeals Board. The law gives equal representation on both agencies to management and labor, along with a representative for the public. Both the IWC and the Cal OSHA appeals' board have had vacancies in labor slots for more than a year, thus tilting the agencies toward management — a tilt many union leaders feel is no accident.

But Rinaldi blames the delay in appointing labor representatives on the problems the governor had getting Senate confirmation of someone to fill the job Rinaldi now has as industrial relations director. Rinaldi also cited the fight over the appointment of Don Donnelly to the Industrial Welfare Commission.

There was a Senate fight over Deukmejian's choice of Victor Veysey, a conservative, management-oriented former Republican assemblyman. Labor's strong opposition forced Deukmejian to replace Veysey with the non-controversial Rinaldi. Similarly, thanks to labor's opposition, the Senate rejected Donnelly for a labor slot on the IWG. Although Donnelly, a union firefighter, was from labor's rank-and-file, his appointment outraged union leaders because he was a strong conservative and because he was chosen by the governor for that reason and without consulting with unions.

Currently, labor is fighting Deukmejian's June 15th appointment of Al Song, chairman of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, to labor's slot on the Cal OSHA board. Song, a former state senator, has no union background. By switching to this new job, Deukmejian can make a grower supported appointment to the ALRB.

Ralph Flynn, executive director of the 150,000-member California Teachers Association, says CTA has tried repeatedly "both formally and informally to establish a day-to-day working relationship with the administration, but each time we hit a stone wall."

According to Flynn, part of CTA's problem with the governor is due to a "foolish, theatrical" reaction Deukmejian gave to a remark by CTA President Marilyn Russell Bittle. At one point during the budget crunch last year, Deukmejain said he would have to play the role of "Scrooge" in dealing with the education budget. Bittle called that a "stupid" remark, and since then, Flynn says, CTA has not been able to contact the governor.

Bill Cunningham, the governor's education adviser, responded to the charge as his counterparts did in other

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agencies, saying, "The CTA people have access to the governor through me. That is my job. True, they did want an appointment with him directly, and asked for it about five months ago, but he has a busy schedule and I am still working to arrange the meeting."

John F. Henning, head of the California AFL-CIO and labor's chief lobbyist in Sacramento, says the governor did sign several labor-backed bills but the credit for those should go to the liberal state Assembly and Senate.

The most sustained criticism of the governor has come from union officials representing the 75,000 workers who must bargain directly with the Deukmejian administration. Leo Mayer, president of the California State Employees Association (CSEA) has declared that the union "will not be walked on by this anti-employee governor and his Republican loyalists." And prior to the start of negotiations this year, CSEA spokesman Keith Hern accused Deukmejian of making a "sham" of the collective bargaining system.

Hern's charge of "sham" concerns what has been one of the most serious areas of disagreement between Deukmejian and the state union. For two years now, the governor has put the amount of money he plans to spend for wage and fringe-benefit hikes in his budget for the ensuing fiscal year, which is presented to the Legislature and public each January. This, says CSEA, is unfair because it predetermines what is supposed to be the outcome of later collective-bargaining negotiations.

Deukemian used that system last year, and CSEA supporters in the Legislature added $100 million to the budget so the state workers could get a full 8 percent pay and benefit increase. But Deukmejian vetoed the hike, and supporters could not muster the two-thirds vote needed to override.

Under former Governor Jerry Brown, the administration budget did not contain a fixed sum for pay and fringe-benefit hikes for state workers. That meant negotiators agreed to what they felt was a fair contract and then submitted it to the governor and Legislature for a final decision.

It is too late this year to change the new system instituted by Deukmejian. But in the future the CSEA hopes to start negotiating in the fall and winter, so that by January 10, when the governor submits his proposed budget, a tentative contract agreement between the union and state personnel managers would be ready for submission to the governor and the Legislature as part of the overall budget.

Deukmejian never has been known as a friend of collective bargaining for state employees. Shortly after the law was passed in 1977, Deukmejian — then state attorney general — joined the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation to challenge the law's constitutionality as it applied to state workers. Normally, the attorney general represents state agencies against legal challenges such as the one by Pacific Legal Foundation. Although Deukmejian's action drew some harsh criticism, the courts held that as attorney general he could legally fight the collective bargaining law. The legal battle prevented collective bargaining from 1977 until the state Supreme Court finally upheld its constitutionality in 1981.

The governor's representatives say they are annoyed with the notion that he, or they, are fundamentally anti-worker or even anti-union. "We have improved our dialogue with the unions in recent months," says Kevin Mosman, deputy personnel director for the state, and he vigorously denied that setting aside specific sums for pay and fringe-benefit increases in advance of negotiations makes a "sham" of the collective bargaining system.

Mosman said that last year was a "difficult one for the state because we all faced a large deficit, and everything had to be cut." In other words, that wasn't an anti-worker position by Deukmejian, but a realistic look at the state's economy. This year, he notes, the governor did propose pay and fringe benefit hikes of up to 10 percent because the budget is in better shape.

Agency fees

Essentially, Deukmejian used the lure of a 10 percent pay hike this year to negotiate an end to the "agency fee" provision that CSEA won from Brown. Under it, non-union workers must pay the union a fee for negotiating the labor contract. The law says both union and non-union workers must be treated alike by the union's contract terms. Thus, the unions argue non-union workers should not be "free riders" who get the benefits of unionization without helping to pay its costs.

Those opposed to the "agency fee" call it an immoral if not illegal compulsion that forces non-union workers to support the union. Deukmejian agrees with that view and proposed that the new state contract eliminate the agency shop provision. This would mean a loss to CSEA of about $3 million out of its estimated $30 million annual budget.

A 10 percent budget loss obviously would weaken the union economically, which, presumably, the governor would like. On the other hand — as the governor doubtlessly realized — if union leaders insisted on holding the "agency fee," they risked dissatisfying rank-and-file members who could be looking forward to the wage-and-benefit increase of up to 10 percent that Deukmejian had promised.

The governor also proposed another contract provision that upset union officials: a two-tier retirement system that would allow workers to voluntarily accept lower pension benefits. That would mean a cut in both employee and state contributions to the retirement fund. Some union leaders feared that the plan would reduce the size of the pension fund and hurt workers by luring those who, not realistically anticipating their retirement needs, would opt to join the low-cost, low benefit retirement system.

Despite all this, some administration officials insist that union leaders exaggerate their differences with the Deukmejian administration. However, it is obvious that a considerable amount of mistrust and antagonism exists and it isn't likely to disappear soon.

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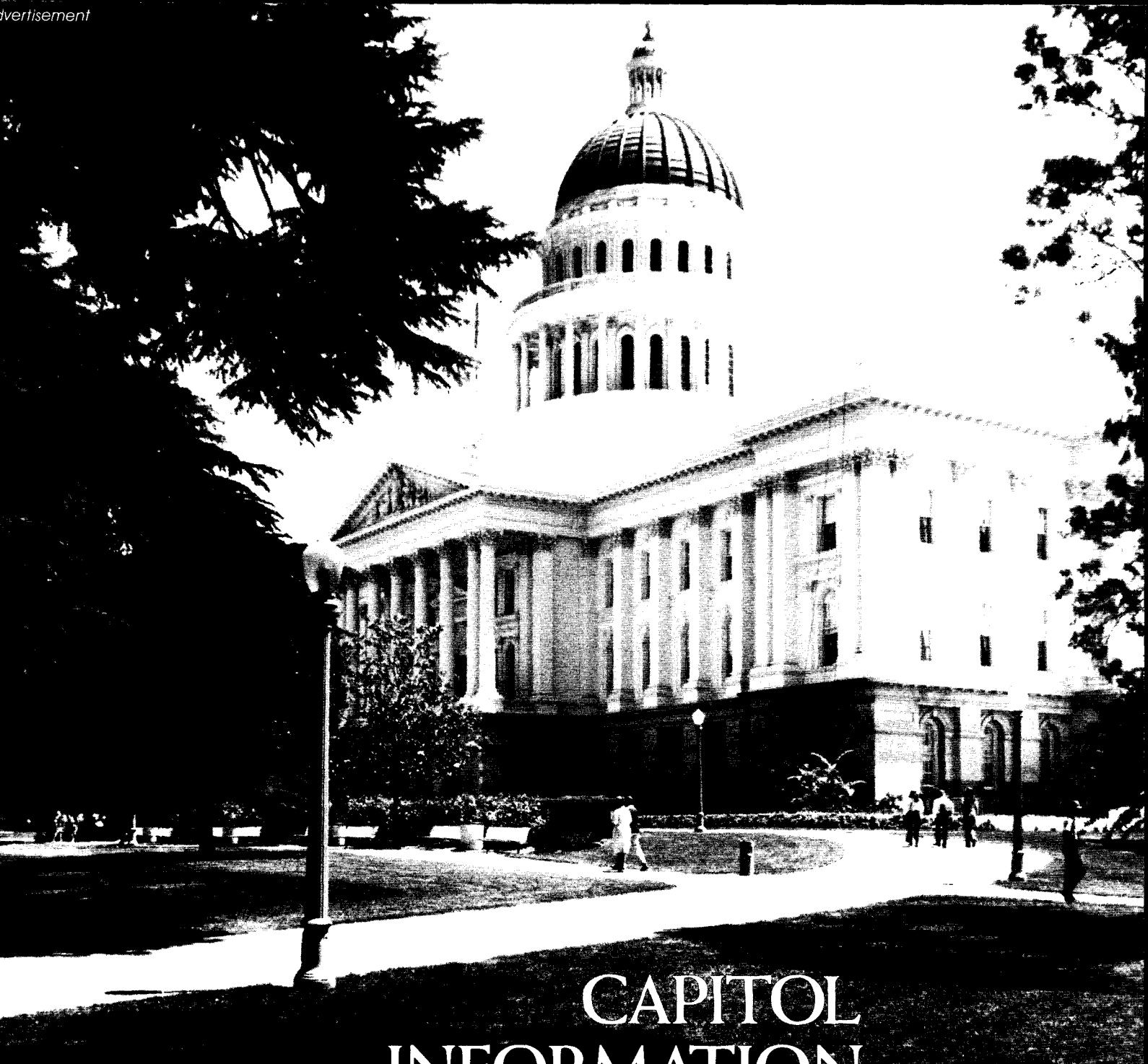

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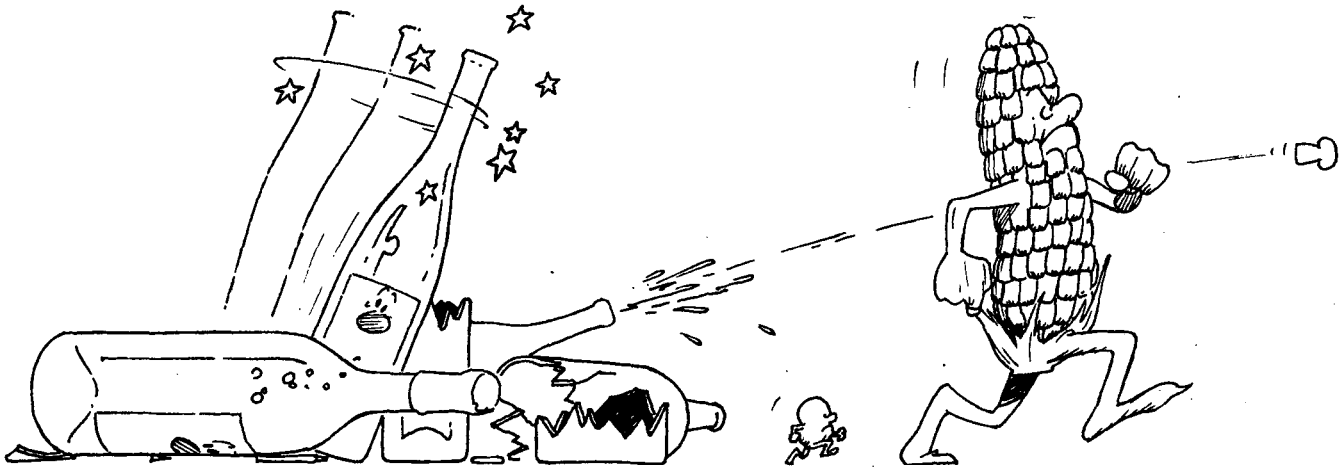
DIANA RAINS, PRESIDENT

Setback partially offset by more trade in Europe



By STEVE PRESSMAN

Thanks to its advertising, wine is seen as a patrician product, something bottled and sold to please the palates of sophisticated persons. Corn and soybeans, on the other hand, are grown to fatten hogs. So which has more clout in Congress? Right. Despite the best efforts of California's junior senator, Pete Wilson, and one of the state's more powerful congressmen, Tony Coelho, it was corn and soybeans hands down.

Initially, corn and soybeans were nowhere to be seen. The struggle involved an effort by U.S. winemakers — most of whom are in California — to stop a European invasion of the U.S. wine market. Between 1971 and 1983, imported vintages — chiefly from France and Italy — have jumped from a seven percent market share to 26 percent, and industry analysts expected the growth to continue.

The reason? Spokesmen for the San Francisco-based Wine Institute reply that it isn't because Americans love to put "Riunite on ice" or "chill a Cella." The reason, they say, is that foreign governments heavily subsidize their wine industries, permitting them to dump table wines in the United States at ridiculously low prices. Simultaneously, many of those same governments have slapped heavy tariffs and other restrictions on U.S. wines shipped into their countries.

Thus, the Wine Institute came up with a proposed "Wine Equity Act" for congressional consideration. Designed to put pressure on the Europeans, it would raise U.S. tariffs on imported wines to match the tariffs that the European Economic Community (Common Market) lays on the U.S. product. As a result, the Europeans would not be able to sell so much wine in the United States or — if the Europeans lowered their tariffs — U.S. vintners would sell more wine in Europe. In either case, the U.S. vintners would come out ahead.

To carry the legislation, the winemakers turned to a pair of Californians, Republican Wilson and Fresno Democrat Coelho, chairman of the influential Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the fund-raising and disbursing agency for Democratic representatives in Congress. Each introduced the measure in his own house. (Although Washington, New York and a few other states also produce wine, California dominates domestic production. In 1982 its vintners made 92 percent of all wine produced in the nation.)

Fast track

For a while it looked as though the wine legislation was on a fast track toward passage. Wilson quickly gathered about 50 Senate co-sponsors in his 100-member chamber. Coelho, with help from Republican William Thomas of Bakersfield, got 340 co-sponsors in the 435-member House. The Reagan administration was opposed, which could have been a problem. But Wilson came off of a cross-country flight last January with a pledge from fellow traveller Edwin Meese III, the presidential counselor, that Meese would press for a White House review of the administration's position.

However, later in January everything changed. Shortly after Congress returned from its Christmas vacation, the American Soybean Association and the National Corn Growers Association began a lobbying assault on the bill. Their message was that approval of the wine legislation could lead the Common Market to retaliate against other U.S. agricultural products, which could lead to substantial harm for growers of soybeans and corn.

In a flurry of letters and phone calls from agricultural lobbyists, farm-state members of Congress were urged to get off the Wilson and Coelho bills. "Wine is produced in major amounts only in California and New York while soybeans are produced in 30 states, including your own," read a letter from the soybean association.

Two weeks later the defections began. Although relatively few legislators went so far as to pull their names off the wine bills, others began telling Wilson and Coelho that they really did not want the measures to pass. Furthermore, the problem within the Reagan administration continued to exist. Although Meese delivered on his promise of a White House review,

Steve Pressman is a reporter in Washington for Congressional Quarterly

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there was no change in policy. Trade representative Bill Brock, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and Agriculture Secretary John Block continued to oppose the wine bill, and the president went along.

A partial victory

In a speech some time later, Brock called the proposed legislation "a blunderbuss approach" and warned that it could start a trade war. "It is the legislative equivalent of shooting yourself in the foot," he said.

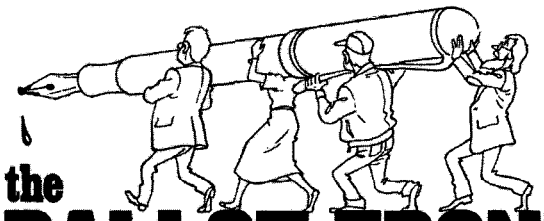
Neither Wilson nor Coelho has declared the wine legislation dead, and Wine Institute lobbyist Arthur Silverman says he will continue to press for its passage. However, the prospects are not good. Both bills are still bottled up in their respective committees.

Does this mean that the entire effort has been a waste of time? Perhaps not. On March 20th the Common Market dropped some of its most restrictive provisions affecting the import of U.S. wines. Lobbyist Silverman hailed the action, telling the *San Francisco Chronicle* that it would allow one vintner a 10 percent sales increase in the United Kingdom alone.

Administration spokesman Brock contends that the proposed Wine Equity Act had nothing to do with the Common Market decision, a statement supported by similar denials from a Common Market representative in Washington. According to Brock, the administration and the Common Market had been negotiating for years to reduce barriers against U.S. wine. In fact, Brock said, the proposed legislation, interpreted by Europeans as a threat, almost killed the negotiations.

But Silverman sees it otherwise. According to the lobbyist, the European action was a direct result of the proposed legislation. And Wilson spokesman Otto Bos says that U.S. trade negotiators have told Wilson privately the same thing.

So maybe wine makers can't match the congressional clout of soybeans and corn. But — for one reason or another — they got some of what they wanted anyway.



the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. The date in parentheses is the deadline for submitting signatures to county clerks. Measures that fully qualify on or before June 28, 1984, will appear on the November ballot.

Continuing in circulation:

- **LOTTERY: FUNDS FOR HOME LOANS** — constitutional amendment (June 25th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **AGRICULTURAL LABOR-RELATIONS ACT** — statute (June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **OPEN PRIMARY** — statute (June 26th — *CJ* March 1984)
- **THE RIGHT TO OWN, USE AND POSSESS FIREARMS** — constitutional amendment (July 23rd — *CJ* April 1984)
- **COMMUNITY COLLEGE FUNDING** — constitutional amendment (September 11th — *CJ* June 1984)
- **PERSONAL INCOME, BANK AND CORPORATION TAX LAWS** — statute (September 11th — *CJ* June 1984)
- **FEDERAL INITIATIVE PROCESS** — statute (September 17th — *CJ* June 1984)

Petitions submitted:

- **LIMITS ON WELFARE AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS** — an initiative statute sponsored by GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson that establishes a Public Assistance Commission and limits welfare expenditures in California to the national average, plus 10 percent. (Petitions submitted May 1st)
- **CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS** — an initiative statute, also sponsored by Assemblyman Johnson, that limits an individual's contribution to $1000 per candidate and $250 per PAC or party; limits annual PAC contributions to $1000 per candidate; and provides that public funds be given to candidates to match unlimited personal expenditures by opponents. (Petitions submitted April 27th)
- **ENGLISH-ONLY VOTING MATERIALS** — an initiative statute, sponsored by Stanley Diamond of San Francisco, that requires the governor to write the president urging that federal law be amended to specify that all voting materials be printed only in English. (Petitions submitted May 29th)
- **LOTTERY: FUNDS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION** — a constitutional amendment, sponsored by Barry Fadem, that establishes a state lottery where 34 percent of all revenues must be used for public education. (Petitions submitted May 17th)
- **REAPPORTIONMENT COMMISSION; REAPPORTIONMENT FOR 1986** — a constitutional amendment, sponsored by Governor George Deukmejian, that takes all reapportionment out of the hands of the Legislature and places it in the hands of a 10-member commission. The commission would reapportion for the 1986 elections. (Petitions submitted May 25th)

Failed to qualify:

- **NO FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS** — an initiative statute that requires the governor to write the president requesting that the United States declare that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons.
- **RENT CONTROL** — a constitutional amendment that would have prohibited any future rent-control law but allowed housing now under such controls to remain until voluntarily vacated.
- **RENT CONTROL** — a statute that would have prevented local governments from regulating rent for units occupied or vacated after 1984.
- **RENT CONTROL** — a constitutional amendment that would have forbidden local governments from passing more rent-control laws and phased out all existing rent-control laws by January 1, 1990.
- **WORKFARE** — a constitutional amendment that would have required most Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients to participate in a community workfare program to qualify for support.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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(A summary of events during the preceding 30 days.)

ROBERTI SUED BY O'SHEA

(May 10th): Lester O'Shea, a Deukmejian appointee to the Little Hoover Commission, filed a $1 million defamation suit against Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat. O'Shea charged that Roberti referred to him as a racist during a May 2nd news conference. Roberti, who says he stands by all comments, based his assessment on a book — *Tampering With The Machinery* — that O'Shea published in 1980. Among other things, the book deals with the roles of blacks and Jews in America.

EX-OEO OFFICIAL ARRESTED

(May 10th): The troubled state Office of Economic Opportunity suffered another shock when Herbert Clayton, its former deputy director and a Deukmejian appointee, was arrested in Sacramento and charged with stealing a $75,000 grant check. The missing money was discovered during an audit of OEO procedures brought about by allegations last March that grants of federal proverty money had been mishandled by the agency. Former director Gilbert Montano Jr. resigned after those allegations surfaced. Arrested along with Clayton was Ona Solon, the 64-year-old executive director of a Berkeley-based anti-poverty program, who it was alleged conspired with Clayton to steal the funds.

DRUNK-DRIVING LAW UPHELD

(May 14th): The U.S. Supreme Court in effect upheld a major provision of California's anti-drunk-driving law — a provision making it illegal to drive with a blood alcohol level of .10 or higher. Opponents contended that the rule is unconstitutional because no one can know his or her blood level. But the high Court refused to hear the case, allowing a State Supreme Court decision to stand.

COURT BANS RELEASE OF MAN-MADE ORGANISM

(May 16th): U.S. District Judge John Sirica in Washington issued a preliminary injunction, barring the first-ever release of a man-made organism into the environment, scheduled for late May at a potato patch in Tulelake. Planned by two UC-Berkeley scientists, the experiment involved a common bacterium that had been genetically altered to eliminate its frost-promoting characteristic. (see *CJ*, February 1984).

SPEAKER DUMPS CAUCUS CHAIRMAN

(May 17th): Assembly Speaker Willie Brown removed Orange County Democrat Richard Robinson from his position as Democratic Caucus Chairman, the third-ranking member of Brown's leadership team. Robinson and Brown had clashed of late over Robinson's support for two administration programs — water and tourism. There were also rumors — denied by all sides — that Robinson had been maneuvering to replace Brown as speaker. Democratic whip Maxine Waters, a close Brown ally, replaced Robinson as caucus chair.

PENSION LOAN DEFAULT

(May 17th): The State Teachers' Retirement Fund found itself holding a defaulted loan note for $50 million when TXPACCO, a small Colorado oil firm, failed to pay all of a $3.75 million interest payment. The loan had been made to TXPACCO back in September 1982 at the insistence of State Controller Ken Cory and former STRS board chairman Gilbert Chilton, now a fugitive charged with taking a bribe of more than $1 million in connection with the loan. Cory said that STRS would move to foreclose on TXPACCO and the $13 billion pension funds would suffer no ill effects.

SAN JOSE DROPS $60 MILLION

(May 22nd): City officials in San Jose announced that the city had lost more than $60 million in the bond market since last October. The city's finance director, treasurer and assistant treasurer had been suspended, the officials also said. The loss occurred because the city treasurer invested in long-term bonds whose value has been dropping. The loss occurred when the bonds were sold to raise short-term operating cash.

STATE MUST REIMBURSE CITY

(May 23rd): In a precedent-setting action that could cost the state millions of dollars, a state court of appeals ordered California to reimburse the city of Sacramento for the city's cost of providing unemployment insurance for its employees. In 1978 the state required cities and counties to provide the insurance.

GOGGIN, COLLIS FINED BY FPPC

(June 5th): Assemblyman Terry Goggin and State Board of Equalization member Conway Collis were fined in separate actions by the Fair Political Practices Commission. Goggin, fined $13,500, was found guilty of failing to disclose several business interests. Long associated with various wheelings and dealings, Goggin was also defeated that day in the Democratic primary election. Collis was fined $12,000 and several of his campaign associates fined $3000 more for overstating the amount of contributions Collis received in 1981 and 1982 — a practice the FPPC said could have deterred other candidates from running against Collis.

DEMOCRATS TAKE PROP 24 TO COURT

(June 6th): The Legislature's Democratic leaders refused to put Proposition 24 into effect and announced that they would file suit, using taxpayer funds, to challenge the measure in the State Supreme Court. The proposition, sponsored by Prop 13 author Paul Gann, had been approved by a 53-47 percent vote in the June 5th primary. Financed by Assembly Republicans, it was designed to reduce the power of the Democratic majority and require the Legislature to reduce its spending on itself. (See *CJ*, April 1984.)

LAWMAKERS APPROVE A BUDGET

(June 15th): After weeks of wrangling over such issues as education funding, the Legislature approved a $31 billion-plus budget, thus sending Governor Deukmejian a spending plan about $1 billion more than one he had proposed back in January. The governor was expected to blue-pencil about $500 million, with half of it to help build a $950 million general fund reserve. The June 15th passage date marked only the second time in 12 years that lawmakers had met the constitutional deadline for enactment of a budget. The Assembly vote was 55-21; the Senate vote, 33-6. The budget trailer bill (see *CJ*, September 1983) was defeated, but unlike 1983, its enactment is not needed to put the budget into effect on July 1st.

A. G. Block

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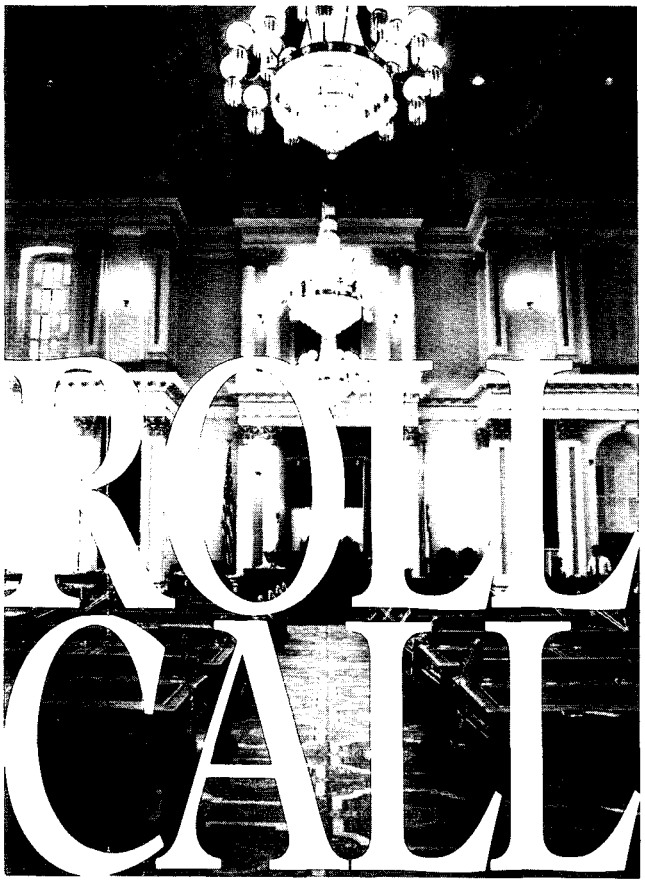

A defeated bill often has more votes in favor than against. This occurs because all bills, on the floor and in committee, need at least an absolute majority to pass. Thus, a bill may be approved 40-28 in the 80-member Assembly but be defeated because it failed to get the 41-vote majority. Urgency, appropriation and tax measures require two-thirds majorities on the floor, as do proposed constitutional amendments and veto overrides.

ASSEMBLY

RAFFLES

ACA 19 (Campbell). Constitutional amendment permitting cities and counties to allow voter-approved raffles conducted by nonprofit organizations. Proponents favor the use of raffles by charitable organizations as another means of fundraising. Critics oppose any expansion of "gambling." Failed June 4th, 45-26 (needs 54 votes).

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, M. Waters, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Felando, Hill, Naylor, Statham, Wright.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Condit, Costa, Johnston, McAlister.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Nolan, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wyman.

PROPERTY TAXES

ACA 66 (Filante). Constitutional amendment to permit with voter approval, disabled persons to postpone the payment of property taxes on their principal residence. Supporters state that disabled taxpayers, most of whom are on fixed incomes, are having difficulty meeting their tax burdens. Opponents argue that no accurate estimate of cost to the state is available, but that it could exceed $1 million. Failed June 4th, 38-1.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Bates, Clute, Connelly, Elder, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Katz, McAlister, Tanner.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: M. Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None.

VOTE CHANGE: Bane from "No" to "Not Voting."

HANDGUNS

AB 3468 (Harris). Raises the minimum age for the purchase of a handgun from 18 to 21 in conformity with federal law and authorizes higher fees for applications to purchase handguns. Supporters favor tightening regulations governing handguns while opponents voted "no" on general principles. Passed May 31st, 64-7.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Bergeson, Bradley, Frazee, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Mountjoy, Naylor, Rogers, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Baker, D. Brown, Felando, Frizzelle, Leonard, Nolan, Seastrand.

MEDI-CAL PROGRAM

AB 3887 (Tucker). Restores the availability of certain "reasonable and necessary" medical and surgical procedures under the Medi-Cal program. Supporters argue that the present definition of "medically necessary" is too restrictive and does not go beyond the provision of services to protect life or prevent significant disability. Opponents contend this restriction, enacted as part of the 1982 Medi-Cal reform law, was made necessary by escalating Medi-Cal program costs. Passed May 29th, 46-27.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Statham.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wright, Wyman.

LOCAL PLANNING

AB 2353 (Moore). Requires city and county planning laws to include a communications element. Sponsors argue that changes in the telecommunications industry, including the breakup of AT&T, make a communications element incrasingly important to general planning. Opponents object to expanding requirements. Passed May 29th, 47-28.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Hill, McClintock.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: McAlister.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Jones, Kel-

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ley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

ELDERLY HOUSING

AB 2473 (Rogers). Exempts the construction of residential housing units for senior citizens from environmental-impact report requirements. Sponsores advocate making it easier for builders to meet the housing needs of senior citizens. Opponents don't agree that meeting such housing needs outweighs the need to conform to EIR requirements. Failed May 29th, 40-30.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Chacon, Clute, Condit, Johnston, Katz, McAlister, Moorhead, Robinson, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Campbell, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Peace, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None.

LOBBYISTS

AB 2289 (Mojonnier). Increases from $10 to $30 the monetary limit on gifts lobbyists can give legislators in any calendar quarter. Sponsors argue that the original limit, enacted in 1974, should be increased due to inflation. Opponents are not in favor of expanding the ceiling on lobbyist gifts. Failed May 22nd, 45-20 (needs 54 votes).

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Bane, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Cortese, Costa, Elder, Farr, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hughes, Johnston, Klehs, McAlister, Moore, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, M. Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Kelley, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Nolan, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Areias, Bates, Clute, Connelly, Davis, Floyd, Hayden, Katz, Killea, Margolin, Molina, Moorhead, O'Connell, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, Johnson, La Follette, Rogers, Seastrand.

AIRPORT NOISE

AB 3804 (Robinson). Prohibits small-claims court actions against public airports due to aircraft noise. Proponents state that this bill is necessary to reduce the adverse fiscal effects on cities and counties of having to defend numerous small-claims actions. Opponents argue that removing small-claims court jurisdiction will deny due process and cost citizens more money to sue in municipal court. Passed May 22nd, 50-24.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hauser, Isenberg, Johnston, Klehs, McAlister, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Agnos, Bane, Bates, Davis, Elder, Hannigan, Harris, Hayden, Hughes, Katz, Killea, Margolin, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Sher, Tanner, Tucker.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bergeson, Johnson, Leonard, Naylor.

BUDGET

AB 2313 (Vasconcellos). Budget Act. Appropriates $30.8 billion for the support of state government for fiscal year 1984-85. Passed May 21st, 55-23.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Felando, Frazee, Jones, Konnyu, Leonard, Mountjoy, Naylor, Statham.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Harris.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Filante, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Kelley, La Follette, Lancaster, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wright, Wyman.

SENATE

PROBATION

SB 1658 (Maddy). Permits, as a condition of probation, home incarceration as an alternative means of punishment. Proponents state that there is a need to provide uniformity among those counties choosing to utilize home incarceration. Critics oppose the use of home incarceration as an alternative form of punishment.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Dills, Foran, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Montoya, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Campbell, Davis, Maddy, Speraw.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Boatwright, Deddeh, Garamendi, Mello, Stiern, Vuich.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell.

MARIJUANA

SB 2233 (Keene). Provides for alternative punishment of up to one year in jail instead of state prison and a fine of up to $1000 for persons convicted of planting, harvesting or processing marijuana. Sponsors advocate relieving prison overcrowding by providing an alternative punishment for these offenses. Opponents argue that a state prison term is more of a deterrent to the commission of such offenses. Failed May 31st, 18-15.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Foran, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Davis, Maddy, Marks, Speraw.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Ayala, Boatwright, Deddeh, Montoya, Vuich.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour.

BUDGET

SB 1378 (Alquist). Budget Act. Appropriates $30.9 billion for the support of state government for fiscal year 1984-85. Includes restrictions on Medi-Cal abortions and provides cost-of-living increase for recipients of public assistance. Passed May 25th, 32-4.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Vuich, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Campbell, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen, Seymour, Speraw.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Montoya.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Beverly, Richardson, Russell.

COMMITTEE VOTES

ANIMAL EXPERIMENTATION

SB 883 (Roberti). Prohibits the use of animals from a public pound or animal shelter for research or experimentation. Proponents contend that dogs and cats are often subject to painful scientific experiments. Opponents claim research costs will increase if veterinary schools and other facilities must purchase specially bred animals for research purposes. Assembly Governmental Organization Committee defeated May 30th, 4-9.

AYES: Bane, Floyd, Tanner, Vicencia.

NOES: Alatorre, Condit, Cortese, Felando, Frazee, Hill, Konnyu, Statham, Tucker.

ABSENT: Young.

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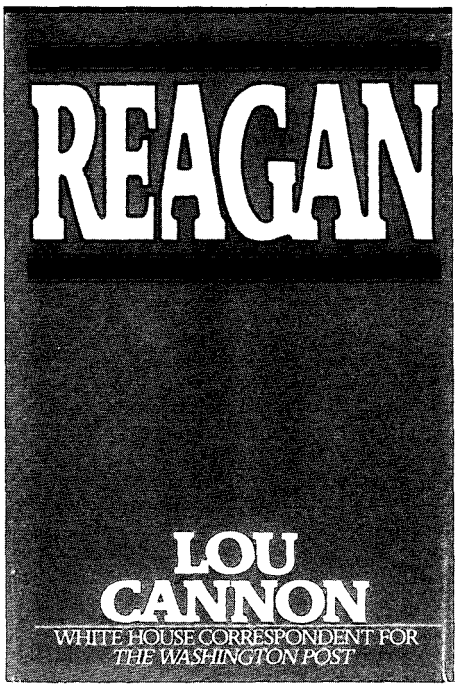

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

The power to tax

In 1967, in his first year as governor, Ronald Reagan sent a bristling states' rights protest to his congressional delegation over a federal attempt to restrict California's ability to tax multinational corporations. "Federal intervention in state tax matters is objectionable in principle," he declared. Going beyond principle, he also noted that meddling by Washington could cost California a hefty chunk of revenue — about $500 million a year.

THE TARGET OF REAGAN'S IRE was legislation that would have prohibited California and several other states from using the "unitary" method to tax earnings of corporate enterprises with operations stretching across the nation and around the globe. Under the "unitary" approach, states take into account a company's worldwide earnings. Taxes are computed by determining the percentage of a firm's business activities, payroll and sales within a particular state.

The struggle over the "unitary" tax has not abated in the 17 years since Reagan filed his sharp protest. California and other defenders of the system have argued that, without it, big oil companies and high-flying conglomerates could evade paying sizeable amounts of state taxes by shifting assets to off-shore tax havens and foreign subsidiaries. Opponents contend the system, by allowing states to tax earnings from operations beyond their borders, leads to double taxation. The controversy has created bad blood between Washington and some of America's main trading partners, including Britain, Canada and Japan, which have been lobbying hard to get rid of the "unitary" tax. As they see it, states shouldn't be allowed to interfere in international commerce with a more rigorous tax strategy than the Internal Revenue Service uses for federal tax-collection purposes.

For Reagan, the issue is no longer simple. As president, he has been buffeted by opposing forces and players who have forced him into a seeming no-win situation. The State and Treasury departments, which have bigger fish to fry than the "unitary" tax in dealing with foreign trade problems, would like nothing better than to offer its elimination in exchange for improved tax treatment abroad for American firms. But revenue-pinched state officials have clung tenaciously to this source of income and like to remind Reagan that he used to be one of them. The president himself has been torn between two of his own cherished principles — removal of tax burdens that impede international business investments, and strengthening the tax base of state governments to enable them to assume more responsibility for domestic programs.

Caught between these conflicting pressures, Reagan punted. After the Supreme Court upheld the "unitary" tax last year, the president rejected recommendations from some advisers to find other ways to kill it, including support of tax "reform" legislation on Capitol Hill. Instead, he opted for one of his favorite methods to get around a prickly problem — creation of a task force. Headed by Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, the group included pro-"unitary" state officials, including California Governor George Deukmejian, and anti-"unitary" representatives from the corporate world. After several months of work, the task force produced a tenuous consensus that each side quickly interpreted in a different way. Still, it may be enough to muffle the controversy until the November elections are out of the way.

The task force emerged with some willingness by California and other states to scale back the world-wide "unitary" tax to a "water's-edge" system that would shield foreign operations from the direct reach of state tax collectors. Under this retrenchment, California would give up $90 million in annual revenues. That's quite a bit less than the $500 million it stands to lose were the "unitary" tax eliminated altogether. Deukmejian suggested multinationals in California might be given a choice of figuring their taxes under either a "unitary" or "water's edge" accounting method, since a few firms actually prefer the current system. Whatever the state might lose through this tax change, it would easily recoup from a more favorable business climate for foreign investments, he argued.

But the governor also insisted that California's price for going along would be rapid implementation of another task force suggestion — expanded federal tax audits of multinationals to give state governments adequate assurance that taxable earnings aren't squirreled away in foreign accounts.

No sooner did the task force complete its work than new problems arose. The states insisted Treasury proceed with improved tax audits before legislatures ratify the new accord. Regan only promised to be ready when the states are. Also, there are widely different "water's-edge" options, each with substantial variations in tax impact on multinationals. Corporations and foreign governments which fought the "unitary" tax for 20 years are skeptical that California and other states will go far enough to meet their basic demands.

NEVERTHELESS, EACH SIDE appears willing to wait a while before resuming hostilities. That's enough to satisfy the White House as it gears up for the fall campaign. "Right now, it's a wait-and-see game," said one top Treasury official. "We're waiting to see how well the states follow through on their end of the deal. To prod them along, we're using a stick-and-carrot approach. The carrot is better tax-audit information. The stick is a possible legislative move by the administration next year to abolish the unitary tax if the states don't come through with milder reforms."

The issue has not been an easy one for California governors. Jerry Brown did a double flip-flop over the "unitary" tax. He initially supported it, then switched after a business-scouting trip to Japan. Three years ago, faced with dwindling revenues in the aftermath of Proposition 3, Brown again became a "unitary" convert. Now, it's Deukmejian's turn to walk a tightrope.

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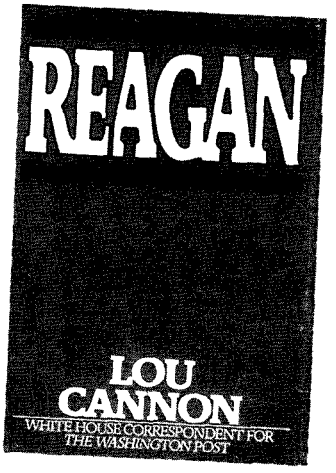

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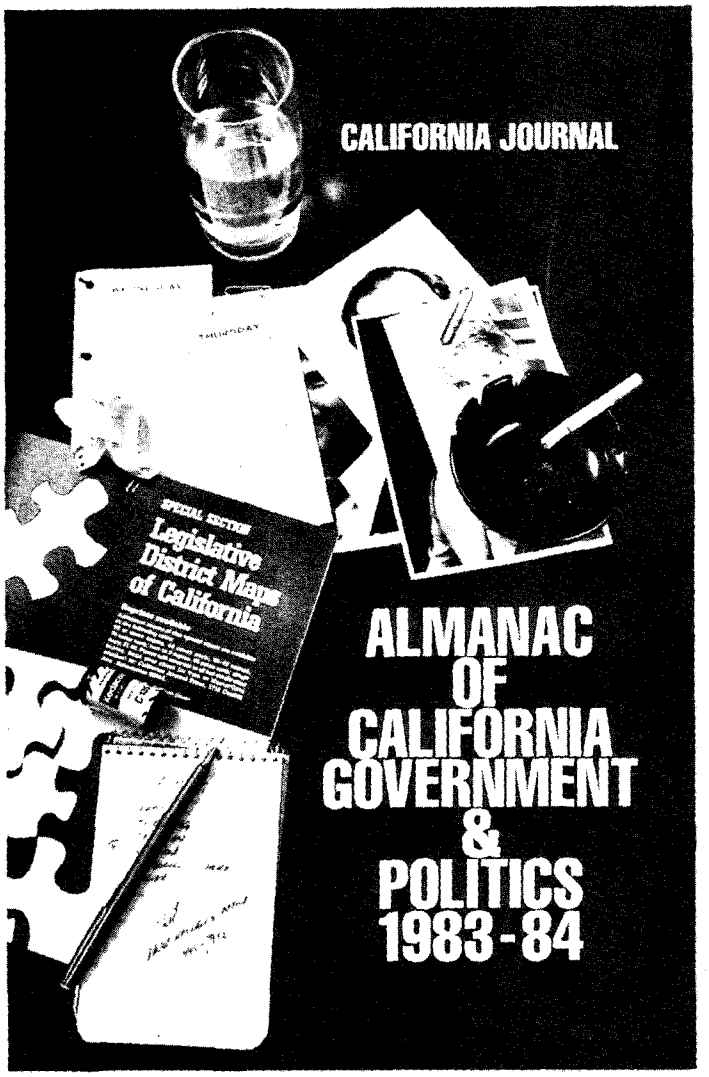

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